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ABSTRACT

This edited volume contains studies demonstrating the linguistic, cultural, and academic contributions that bilingual approaches to education can make around the world. It is divided into three parts and 12 chapters. Chapter one, "Bilingual Education: Contexts and Programs," is an introduction by the editors. Part one, "Learning a Majority Language through Bilingual Education," is divided into the following five chapters: "Creating Community--Un Mundo Entero: The Inter-American Experience" (Cheryl Urow and Jill Sontag); "Success for All in a Two-Way Immersion School" (Margarita Calderon and Robert E. Slavin); "Strengthening the Transition in Transitional Bilingual Education" (William M. Saunders and Claude Goldenberg); "Trilingual Schools in the Ladin Valleys of South Tyrol, Italy" (Kurt Egger, Margareth Lardschneider McLean); and "A Bilingual Hungarian/Slovak School in the Slovak Republic" (Bridget Fitzgerald Gersten). Part two, "Maintaining an Indigenous Language through Bilingual Education," is divided into the following three chapters: "E Ola Ka Hawaii I Kona Olelo: Hawaiians Live in Their Language" (Lois A. Yamauchi and Puanani Wilhelm); "Balancing Tradition and Modernity: A Natural Approach to Maori Language Revitalization in a New Zealand Secondary School" (Richard A. Benton); and "The Seventh Generation of Kahnawake: Phoenix or Dinosaur" (Kaia'titahkhe Annette Jacobs and Aronhie:niens Edward J. Cross). Part three, "Learning an International Language through Bilingual Education" is divided into three chapters: "English Immersion in a Japanese School" (Mike Bostwick); "Hai, Genki Desu: Doing Fine in a Japanese Immersion Classroom" (Ruth Kanagy); and "An International Bilingual School in Indiana, USA" (Alain Weber). A subject index is included. (Contains 182 references.) (KFT)

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Bilingual Education

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Case Studies in TESOL Practice Series
Jill Burton, Series Editor

Bilingual Education

Edited by Donna Christian and
Fred Genesee

Case Studies in TESOL Practice Series

Jill Burton, Series Editor

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Figure 1 in chapter 7 from *He Pōhaku Laki* [The lucky stone] (p. 9), by M. M. L. Ho, Hilo, HI: Hale Kuamo'o. Illustrated by K. Morales for the Hale Kuamo'o, 1992. Reprinted with permission.

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Series Editor's Preface

The Case Studies in TESOL Practice series offers innovative and effective examples of practice from the point of view of the practitioner. The series brings together from around the world communities of practitioners who have reflected and written on particular aspects of their teaching. Each volume in the series will cover one specialized teaching focus.

CASE STUDIES

Why a TESOL series focusing on case studies of teaching practice?

Much has been written about case studies and where they fit in a mainstream research tradition (e.g., Nunan, 1992; Stake, 1995; Yin, 1994). Perhaps more importantly, case studies also constitute a public recognition of the value of teachers' reflection on their practice and constitute a new form of teacher research—or teacher valuing. Case studies support teachers in valuing the uniqueness of their classes, learning from them, and showing how their experience and knowledge can be made accessible to other practitioners in simple, but disciplined ways. They are particularly suited to practitioners who want to understand and solve teaching problems in their own contexts.

These case studies are written by practitioners who are able to portray real experience by providing detailed descriptions of teaching practice. These qualities invest the cases with teacher credibility, and make them convincing and professionally interesting. The cases also represent multiple views and offer immediate solutions, thus providing perspective on the issues and examples of useful approaches. Informative by nature, they can provide an initial database for further, sustained research. Accessible to wider audiences than many traditional research reports, however, case studies have democratic appeal.

HOW THIS SERIES CAN BE USED

The case studies lend themselves to pre- and in-service teacher education. Because the context of each case is described in detail, it is easy for readers to compare the cases with and evaluate them against their own circumstances. To respond to the wide range of settings in which TESOL functions, cases have been selected from diverse EFL and ESL settings around the world.

The 12 or so case studies in each volume are easy to follow. Teacher writers describe their teaching context and analyze its distinctive features: the particular demands of their context, the issues they have encountered, how they have effectively addressed the issues, what they have learned. Each case study also offers readers practical suggestions—developed from teaching experience—to adapt and apply to their own teaching.

Already published or in preparation are volumes on

- action research
- assessment practices
- community partnerships
- content-based language instruction
- distance learning
- English for specific purposes
- intensive English teaching
- interaction and language learning
- international teaching assistants
- journal writing
- mainstreaming
- teacher education
- teaching academic writing
- technology in the classroom
- teaching English as a foreign language in primary schools

THIS VOLUME

Learning a majority, indigenous, or international language through bilingual education—the cases in this volume cover the diversity of environments in which languages can be learned bilingually and prosper. The cases provide a wealth of information on how to teach bilingually and attest to the community value and personal growth to be found in such educational projects.

Jill Burton
University of South Australia, Adelaide

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CHAPTER 1

Bilingual Education: Contexts and Programs

Donna Christian and Fred Genesee

INTRODUCTION

Bilingual education can be defined generically as education involving two languages as media of instruction. As with many such labels, however, the literal meaning of the component words tells only part of the story. In this case, the generic definition fails to capture the influences of the sociolinguistic and cultural contexts in which any educational program is embedded. In the case of bilingual approaches to education, these influences can lead to wide variation in the goals and features of bilingual education programs in real schools. Among other characteristics, the proportion and purposes of use of each language can be shaped by the broader context in which the program is situated.

Given the strong emotions that often accompany proposals for bilingual education, it is easy to forget the prevalence of multilingual communities. Tucker (in press) reminds us of the pervasiveness of multilingualism around the world and the fact that personal histories involving multiple languages, including at school, are the norm rather than the exception. He observes,

> The use of multiple languages in education may be attributed to, or be a reflection of, numerous factors such as the linguistic heterogeneity of a country or region . . . ; specific social or religious attitudes . . . ; or the desire to promote national identity. In addition, innovative language education programs are often implemented to promote proficiency in international language(s) of wider communication together with proficiency in national and regional languages.

There are, of course, always multiple ways of categorizing educational approaches (see Genesee, 1999, for a full discussion of program alternatives). For our purposes in this volume, three major intersecting dimensions provide a framework for categorizing bilingual programs: (a) the goals of the program, (b) the sociolinguistic status of the languages of instruction, and (c) the profile of the students being instructed.

Bilingual instruction generally aims for one of two basic goals: to transition students from a language they know to another language, or to add a language or languages so that students become bi- or multilingual. The transitional approach is most commonly found in communities where a language of wider communication in the society is broadly used as a language of instruction in education, and students come to schools speaking a variety of other minority languages. A transitional program provides instruction through a community or regional language that students know while they learn the more widely used societal language. After some period of time, they move to monolingual instruction in the majority language. In the United States, and in many countries around the world, a transitional approach is the most common type of program.

Other programs seek to add a language to a student's repertoire while maintaining the language(s) the student brings to school, so that both languages are used for instruction for an extended period (usually at least through the elementary grades, i.e., through ages 11–12). An additional goal of some programs is to revitalize an indigenous language that is at risk of disappearing with succeeding generations.

Usually, two languages are used in bilingual education (though some programs include a third language or introduce additional languages as subjects; see chapter 5 in this volume). One of these languages is nearly always a majority societal language, one that is commonly used as a medium of instruction. In many instances, the second language of instruction is a minority language, the native language of some or all of the students in the program. This is the case, for example, in Spanish/English bilingual programs in the United States, in which native Spanish speakers participate. In some cases, the minority language is an indigenous language that may not be well known by the current generation of students (in the case of revitalization programs), as with Maori in New Zealand. In either situation, the sociolinguistic status of the languages in the society reveals a difference in prestige and power.

Finally, the profiles of student populations in bilingual programs differ. In some cases, a relatively homogeneous population of minority language speakers participates, as in the bilingual program for the minority Hungarian community in Slovakia or the Mohawk immersion program in the native Mohawk community in Canada. In other schools, minority and majority language speakers are integrated for instruction so that all students may become bilingual, as in the two-way immersion program at Inter-American Magnet School in the United States. In the third possibility, programs involve primarily majority language speakers who enroll to learn an international language, as in the English immersion program in Japan or the Japanese immersion program in the United States.

This volume brings together case studies of schools around the world where students are instructed bilingually. The chapters are grouped according to the major language goals of the programs described so that common themes in certain types of situations may emerge for the reader. Table 1 summarizes the chapters by section in terms of the dimensions just discussed.

LEARNING MAJORITY LANGUAGES THROUGH BILINGUAL EDUCATION

The cases in Part 1 all represent situations where minority language speakers participate in bilingual education to gain proficiency in the majority societal language. This is the "classic" context for bilingual education, one that is certainly the most readily thought of. In the cases discussed in this section, minority-background students enter school speaking their family's primary language, which is a minority language in the broader society. The programs described in this section differ,

TABLE 1. OVERVIEW OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION CASES BY PROGRAM TYPE

Case	*Program Type*	*Language Goals*	*Status of Languages*	*Students*
Part 1: Learning a Majority Language Through Bilingual Education				
Chapters 2, 3	Two-way immersion	Bilingualism	Minority/ majority	Minority/ majority
Chapter 4	Transitional bilingual	Transition	Minority/ majority	Minority
Chapters 5, 6	Maintenance bilingual	Bilingualism	Minority/ majority	Minority
Part 2: Maintaining an Indigenous Language Through Bilingual Education				
Chapters 7, 8, 9	Indigenous language revitalization	Bilingualism/ revitalization	Minority/ majority	Minority
Part 3: Learning an International Language Through Bilingual Education				
Chapters 10, 11, 12	Foreign language immersion	Bilingualism	Majority/ international	Majority

however, with respect to the language goals they have for the students (transitional or bilingual) and to the presence or absence of majority language speakers within the program. Three of the studies involve Spanish and English in the United States, where bilingual education has been an especially volatile topic. The remaining two studies concern a bilingual program in Slovakia (Hungarian/Slovakian) and a trilingual program in Italy (Ladin/German/Italian). In each setting, bilingual education is, to some degree, politically controversial because of a widespread belief that minority students should learn the language of wider use as quickly as possible.

Chapters 2 and 3 present studies of two-way immersion programs, in which Spanish-dominant and English-dominant students are integrated for instruction in the same classrooms and both languages are used as media of instruction. The goal is for all students to become bilingual, and it is noteworthy that students from two different language backgrounds are learning together (Christian, 1996). In chapter 2, Urow and Sontag provide a portrait of the Inter-American Magnet School in Chicago, Illinois, one of the oldest two-way programs in the United States. Begun in 1975 after a grassroots campaign by parents in the community, the school now serves students aged 4–13 from Spanish and English language backgrounds in a whole-school, two-way program. The goal of bilingualism for all students is just one facet of the school's mission to build and celebrate the entire community and its diversity. The authors describe many ways in which the school weaves bilingualism into a broader effort to promote multicultural understanding through curricular units, parent involvement, and community activism.

Calderon and Slavin (chapter 3) focus on the critical component of literacy development in two-way immersion. They present Hueco Elementary School in El Paso, Texas, a school near the U.S.-Mexico border serving both Spanish- and English-dominant students from 4 to 11 years of age. Hueco Elementary has adopted the Success for All/*Exito Para Todos* instructional program schoolwide to provide a multifaceted approach to developing oral language, reading, and writing in both English and Spanish. The authors describe the components of the program in detail as it is adapted to the two-way immersion model, emphasizing the importance of both curricular and noncurricular elements (e.g., professional development, family support and tutoring).

Chapter 4 also focuses on literacy, in this case in a Spanish/English transitional bilingual program for Spanish-dominant students in Los Angeles, California, in the United States. Saunders and Goldenberg draw attention to the importance of the actual process of transition from bilingual instruction to monolingual instruction through the students' second language (L2), a process that is often unsupported. In the school that is profiled, a multiyear transitional language arts program, centered around the study of literature, was implemented and evaluated. The authors outline the components of the program, including literature units, skill-building activities, and interactive journals, and they present evidence of the impact of the program on student achievement.

The two remaining chapters in this section introduce bilingual programs for minority language speakers in Italy and Slovakia. Egger and Lardschneider McLean (chapter 5) describe a trilingual school in the Ladin valleys of northern Italy, outlining the region's historical and linguistic development and how it has led to significant roles for three languages in the area—German, Italian, and Ladin. In the school system, German and Italian are used equally as the main languages of academic instruction, with Ladin used as native language support for the students and as a subject for language arts instruction. The schools seek to preserve the language and culture of the local Ladin community while preparing students for success in higher education and the workplace, where German and Italian will be needed.

Gersten (chapter 6) reports on bilingual education in a school for Hungarian-dominant students in Slovakia, near the border with Hungary. As in the program in Italy, a major goal is to maintain the sociocultural identity and heritage language of the Hungarian minority, and language use in school mirrors that in the community. In this case, however, Hungarian is the primary medium of instruction throughout all grades, with Slovak taught as a subject in the elementary years and used for some content instruction at the secondary level. Gersten documents many ways in which language arts instruction draws on native discourse patterns, including elements of performance and interactive reading/writing, to help students develop literacy in two languages. In the process, the significant role that the first language can play in L2 learning is illuminated as well.

MAINTAINING INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES THROUGH BILINGUAL EDUCATION

The programs in the case studies presented in Part 2 are concerned with preserving indigenous languages at the same time as they promote full proficiency in a majority societal language. In all three cases, the participating students come to school speaking a majority language, and the bilingual program gives them an opportunity to acquire an indigenous language that is a fundamental part of their cultural heritage. Hawaiian, Mohawk, and Maori are the heritage languages of the communities in which the participating students live and the linguistic link to their unique cultural heritage. Although elders in the community may know and use the language, few school-age children and their parents do. In every case, the indigenous language has been displaced by a colonial language, English, that has come to dominate the larger national entities in which they live. English is also a world language, and, thus, the maintenance and development of full proficiency in English will permit the participating students not only to fit in and succeed in their local and national communities but also to take full advantage of knowing a high-status language with worldwide possibilities for personal, professional, or other purposes. The overarching goals of indigenous language bilingual programs encompass high-level language and academic student outcomes, and survival and development of the indigenous language. In other words, these programs focus on both individual student and community outcomes. Indeed, use of the indigenous language in school settings in each of these case studies is seen as a critical first step in revitalizating the language.

In chapter 7, Yamauchi and Wilhelm describe a public bilingual program in Hawaiian and English. Inaugurated in 1987, the Hawaiian Language Immersion Program encompasses elementary and secondary grades and has been developed with the support and authority of the state department of education in Hawaii. Hawaiian authorities and educators have been challenged to offer the program on the main islands of the Hawaiian archipelago. An important feature of this program is that many of the participating students come to school speaking Hawaii Creole English and, thus, can be said to be learning a second dialect (standard English) as well as an L2—Hawaiian. Yamauchi and Wilhelm provide an in-depth discussion of some of the distinctive cultural features of this program along with the community context in which it is situated.

The inspiration for the Hawaiian immersion program came in part from the Māori immersion programs that preceded it. Māori, like Hawaiian, is an official language and, thus, both programs have governmental support, in principle. Benton's report of this case (chapter 8) highlights the inevitable transformations that occur in such innovative programs as educators search for "the best way" to make their program work. This case study is of particular interest because it focuses on a secondary-level program, in contrast to most others in this volume, which focus on elementary-level programs. Benton provides a detailed summary of the program and its curriculum, highlighting the importance of reflective planning, flexibility, and innovation in bilingual programs that include indigenous languages.

Jacobs and Cross (chapter 9) describe the long-term initiatives of the Mohawk community near Montreal, Canada, to sustain and promote the Mohawk language in the face of dominance by English and, to some extent, French. Like other indigenous language bilingual programs, the Mohawk program reflects fundamentally cultural as well as linguistic concerns and goals of the community. Limited to a much smaller territory than the Hawaiian and Māori groups, Mohawk educators and parents have still had to struggle with the same broad range of challenges in planning bilingual education in Mohawk and English for their children. The case study highlights the evolution of an indigenous community as it revitalizes its language and culture and renews its children's identification with their background and values.

LEARNING INTERNATIONAL LANGUAGES THROUGH BILINGUAL EDUCATION

The programs described in the case studies in Part 3 are concerned with the promotion of proficiency in important world languages at the same time as they continue to promote the participating students' proficiency in the home language. In every case, the home language is the majority language of the society—Japanese in chapter 10 and English in chapters 11 and 12. Globalization of the economy, culture, and communication has changed our lives radically, and these changes have major implications for schooling. Students with skills in multiple languages and cultures are best able to take full advantage of the opportunities presented by globalization and to compete and succeed in the international marketplace. Thus, educators in many communities are seeking ways of providing students who are members of the dominant language and cultural group with opportunities to acquire world languages and to become familiar with important world cultures. Bilingual education has an important role to play here.

Bostwick (chapter 10) provides a description of the first bilingual (English immersion) program for Japanese students in Japan. The program currently spans the elementary grades, and there are plans to extend it into the secondary grades as the initial cohort of students advances. In his account, Bostwick describes the daunting challenges of reconciling the educational and cultural characteristics of the host community with an L2 and its associated cultural trappings. He also reveals the challenges presented by the need for collaboration between teachers who belong to different language and cultural groups—those who are part of the mainstream monolingual school system and those who are part of the innovative bilingual school system. A valuable feature of this study is the inclusion of extensive evaluation data. These data have been extremely helpful in validating this program, especially in light of the typologically distinct languages involved and, as noted above, the differences in curricular approaches embodied in the Japanese- and English-based materials.

Kanagy (Chapter 11) discusses a Japanese immersion program for native-English-speaking students in Oregon, in the United States—in effect, the mirror image of the English immersion program in Japan. The most distinctive feature of these two programs is the noncognate nature of the two target languages. Kanagy focuses on this feature of the program and provides detailed and insightful descriptions of the acquisition of Japanese in light of these differences. She describes classroom routines and instructional strategies that have been adopted in this school to help students develop aspects of Japanese that could be problematic for English speakers. Her report highlights the multiple competencies that teachers in bilingual programs need if they are to be effective—more specifically, in addition to standard pedagogical knowledge and skills, bilingual teachers need to know about second language acquisition and relevant linguistic features of the target languages their students are learning.

Weber's international school in Indianapolis, Indiana, in the United States, provides bilingual instruction in French or Spanish along with English. The International School of Indiana grew out of interest among parents in educational alternatives that prepare students for a multilingual, multicultural world, and among the local business community in developing schools that would attract well-educated professionals from around the world to work in the numerous international corporate offices located in Indianapolis. Weber's case study (chapter 12) highlights the role and importance of community and parent support in bilingual education. Bilingual programs demand change, and change requires commitment and energy; parents are indispensable to the process of change that is called for because it is their children who are the real beneficiaries of bilingual education.

CONCLUSION

The diverse programs described in this volume demonstrate the linguistic, cultural, and academic contributions that bilingual approaches to education can make around the world. The array of programs illustrates the ways in which program features are aligned with community goals, sociolinguistic situations, and student characteristics. The cases also represent a variety of perspectives, with contributors coming from both "inside" and "outside" the schools themselves. That is, some of the cases are described by participants in or developers of the programs discussed. Others are written by researchers/observers who have studied the school. The different perspectives that arise from these different ways of describing bilingual education are interesting and instructive themselves.

CONTRIBUTORS

Donna Christian is president of the Center for Applied Linguistics in Washington, DC, in the United States, where she is active in research, program evaluation, policy analysis, and professional development. Her work focuses on language in education, including L2 learning and dialect diversity. She has studied two-way immersion programs for over 10 years and is currently involved in research on that topic for the Center for Research on Education, Diversity and Excellence (CREDE), funded by the U.S. Department of Education. Recent publications include *Profiles in Two-Way Immersion Education* (with Chris Montone, Kathryn Lindholm, and Isolda Carranza; Delta Systems, 1997) and *Dialects in Schools and Communities* (with Walt Wolfram and Carolyn Adger; Erlbaum, 1999).

Fred Genesee is a professor of psychology at McGill University, Montreal, Quebec, Canada. He has written numerous scientific and professional articles and books on teaching and learning L2s in school settings, including *Educating Second Language Children* (Cambridge University Press, 1994), *Beyond Bilingualism: Multilingualism and Multilingual Education* (with Jasone Cenoz; Multilingual Matters, 1998), and *Dual Language Instruction: A Handbook for Enriched Education* (with Nancy Cloud and Else Hamayan; Heinle & Heinle, 2000). His current research focuses on the academic and language outcomes in two-way immersion programs (conducted with CREDE), and on children who acquire two languages simultaneously during the preschool years.

PART 1

Learning a Majority Language Through Bilingual Education

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CHAPTER 2

Creating Community—*Un Mundo Entero:* The Inter-American Experience

Cheryl Urow and Jill Sontag

INTRODUCTION

Encircled by the large city hospital, the noisy elevated train, the premium coffee shop, and the newly renovated two-flats (two-story buildings with an apartment on each floor) sits a small, often-overlooked concrete building. In stark contrast to the faded stone facade, the bright greens, reds, and yellows of the slides, monkey bars, and swings announce that this building houses something very alive. Through the gray, institutional doors with the "Chicago Public School" sign surge the vibrant colors, music, chatter, and movement of adults and children actively involved in creating a unique community.

This is the Inter-American Magnet School, a U.S. public school in Chicago, Illinois, dedicated to teaching and learning in two languages. Students from many neighborhoods in the city of 3 million come here because they and their families value the schoolwide Spanish/English two-way immersion program. From pre-K through eighth grade, English-dominant, Spanish-dominant, and fully bilingual students come together in classrooms where they play the roles of both learners and educators.

The Inter-American story reflects the dedication, struggle, and ideals of its community of students, parents, teachers, and administrators. All are united in their commitment to bilingualism and multiculturalism. Originating in the hearts and minds of two new mothers, Inter-American became one of the first two-way bilingual immersion programs in the United States. Today, it continues to thrive and grow, serving as both a training ground for future two-way teachers and a model for new two-way immersion programs.

In two-way immersion schools, students from two different language backgrounds learn together in classrooms where both languages are used as media of instruction. Although implementation models vary, the goals of these schools include high levels of proficiency in both languages for all students, positive cross-cultural attitudes, and strong academic achievement. This chapter contains a history and description of Inter-American's Spanish/English two-way immersion program. It highlights the features that make it a model two-way program in the United States. In providing a historical context and delineating several distinguishing characteristics of this school, we hope to give readers some practical ideas for implementing this model.

CONTEXT

Admission to Inter-American

Inter-American Magnet School is a public school open to any child who is a resident of Chicago. As a magnet school, Inter-American differs from the majority of elementary schools in the United States in that it is not a neighborhood school. A neighborhood school is open only to those students who live within defined boundaries around the school, who simply must register before attending classes. A magnet school, on the other hand, is open to all children within a school district. For their children to attend the Inter-American magnet program, parents or guardians must formally apply for admission. Students are selected from those applications through a computer-generated lottery.

At registration, the two-way program is explained in detail to solidify parent support and encourage participation. Parents learn that from pre-K (age 4) through fourth grade (age 9), for example, students will spend 80% of their school day in Spanish and 20% in English, regardless of their home language. Parents are asked to sign a contract to demonstrate that they understand and agree with the dual-language philosophy of the school. This contract was developed in response to the need to fully disclose the philosophy of the program to parents who come with a variety of understandings of what a two-way immersion program is.

To achieve the racial and ethnic diversity required for this magnet school, students are selected by lottery from racial-ethnic categories. Gender is also taken into consideration. For example, all children who apply for admission to kindergarten are separated into the following categories: White, Black, Hispanic, Asian/Pacific Islander, and Native American. Each category is subdivided into gender categories. Separate lotteries are then held for White boys entering kindergarten, White girls entering kindergarten, African American boys entering kindergarten, and so on. The computer-generated lottery chooses about 25 students for enrollment in each kindergarten class and creates a waiting list.

Siblings of students currently enrolled at the school are accepted without participating in the lottery and account for about 45% of the student population. Because of attrition and the desire to maintain a diverse population, transfer students are accepted at all grade levels through the lottery process. Because all content areas, with the exception of English language arts, are taught in Spanish through the fifth grade, it is more difficult for English-dominant transfer students to integrate into the classroom after first grade.

Attesting to its educational reputation within the Chicago Public Schools, Inter-American has had a substantial waiting list for the past 10–15 years. In addition, most of the teachers send their own children to Inter-American. The principals of magnet schools are allotted 5% of the school's admission to use at their discretion. It has been the practice at Inter-American for the principal to use this percentage to accept children of faculty members.

Student Population

The breakdown of the student population is 65% Latino, 19% White, 14% African American, 1% Native American, and 1% Asian/Pacific Islander. Of the Latino students, usually about half are Spanish dominant. The other half are either proficient in English and Spanish or are English dominant. But as Chicago's Latino population changes, an increasing number of these students come from families that have been in the United States for generations. Fewer and fewer are Spanish dominant. As a result, currently a larger percentage of Latino students entering Inter-American are English dominant. Although the ethnic ratio of the classes remains 65% Latino and 35% other, the overall linguistic balance of the most recent classes has altered. A growing number of students are English dominant. Non-Latino students are mostly English dominant, with a small percentage speaking a third language at home (e.g., Portuguese, Russian, or Vietnamese).

The students of Inter-American come with a variety of needs and abilities. For the 12% of students who qualify for special education services, Inter-American has three full-time, bilingual special education teachers. They provide services from pulling out students a few times a week to holding self-contained classes for those students who need them. In addition, the school has a full-time counselor. A social worker and psychologist are sent by the Chicago Board of Education one or two times a week.

The ethnic, racial, linguistic, and academic diversity of the student body is reflected in each classroom. Inter-American does very little tracking or ability grouping. At the end of each school year, teachers put a lot of time and effort into arranging students into classes for the following year. Teachers work hard at maintaining the diversity of each classroom while affording children an opportunity to work with other students in their grade.

How the School Started

The Inter-American story begins in the early 1970s with two women who wanted their children to benefit, as they had, from the knowledge of two languages. Adela Coronado-Greeley wished for her children to have as much pride in and knowledge of their Mexican heritage as they undoubtedly would with regard to their Irish background. Janet Nolan, having lived and worked in Mexico, wanted her children to experience the joys of bilingualism. The more they discussed their hopes, the more these two best friends realized that the existing educational options did not meet their needs. Together, they developed and outlined a vision: They would create a school where children could be both learners and teachers, where English speakers and Spanish speakers would come together to teach each other and learn from each other, and where the cultures and languages would be valued equally.

These grassroots organizers were soon joined by other like-minded parents. Following community meetings, distribution of leaflets, petitioning, and a series of meetings with the Chicago Board of Education, the first two-way bilingual immersion class began in 1975. Initially it was a preschool for 4-year-olds, but it was so successful that the following year parents and teachers pushed to add kindergarten. This joint parent-teacher activism proved to be the basis for the growth and success of Inter-American Magnet School.

The program continued to grow one grade at a time until it reached the third grade (for 8- and 9-year-olds). Because of space constraints, the original plan was to stop at that level. Instead, the program moved into another building as an independent program within another school. It expanded to fourth and fifth grades and again outgrew its location. At about the same time, in the early 1980s, the

Chicago Board of Education received federal funds designated to promote the integration of racial and ethnic groups within new schools. Inter-American took advantage of this opportunity to move into its own building, merging with a neighborhood school.

A few years later, when that school's principal retired, both parents and teachers were involved in interviewing and selecting the new principal. The woman chosen remains the principal at this writing. She strongly believes in the two-way bilingual immersion philosophy and is herself multilingual. In addition, she encourages the kind of teacher empowerment and parent involvement envisioned and practiced by the founders of the school, including in the hiring of new personnel. Faculty candidates are interviewed by a committee of parents, teachers, and administrators.

The program's founders have remained involved with Inter-American as parents, teachers, and even district-level administrators. Their activism and dedication continue to inspire, challenge, and uplift the present faculty and staff of Inter-American.

DESCRIPTION

Program Leadership

Teachers and parents created this two-way immersion school because they felt it was the best way to educate their students and children. They continue to play a strong leadership role in determining schoolwide policies, including those involving the budget, the curriculum, and scheduling.

For example, Inter-American teachers voted to extend the school day to include a 50-minute lunch period (rather than the typical 20-minute break). Children eat for 20 minutes and then enjoy a 30-minute recess, which is monitored by volunteers and auxiliary staff. This is unscheduled time for teachers. Teachers enacted this change believing that a longer day with more free time for the students and themselves would make for more effective learning and teaching. Additional instructional minutes for students provided by the extended-day schedule allow students to be dismissed early on some Fridays. On these Fridays, teachers remain at school and use the time for staff meetings, professional development presentations, and committee meetings.

Teachers, parents, and administrators have chosen to use discretionary funds to reduce class size. The Inter-American community values the effectiveness of the close relationship that can develop between teachers and students when class size is kept below 25 students. Although the school district provides one teacher for up to 32 students, Inter-American decided to hire additional classroom teachers (forgoing an art teacher and most classroom aides). With smaller classes, teachers can more closely monitor their students' language acquisition and address their individual needs.

Program Overview

From a preschool for 4-year-olds, Inter-American has grown to encompass pre-K through eighth grade. The majority of students at Inter-American enter the program in pre-K and stay until eighth grade.

The ratio of English to Spanish changes from grade to grade (see Table 1). In Grades pre-K–4 (4- to 9-year-olds), 80% of the day is taught in Spanish, and 20% is taught in English. This shifts in fifth grade (10-year-olds) to 60% Spanish and 40% English, and changes again to 50% and 50% in sixth through eighth grades (11- to 13-year-olds). This means that through the fourth grade all classes except English language arts are taught in Spanish. Homework usually goes home in the language of instruction unless it requires the involvement of a parent who does not speak the target language.

ESL and Spanish as a second language (SSL) instruction are integrated throughout the day in the classroom. Students who need further support in their second language (L2) participate in ESL and SSL pullout programs. Students are not usually pulled out during their language arts time so that they receive as much instruction as possible in the L2. Schedules are cooperatively arranged by the pullout teacher and the regular classroom teacher.

Promotion of Second Language Acquisition

Many children enter the school monolingual. And, although all teachers are bilingual, they take great care to use only the target language (i.e., the designated language of instruction for the time or subject). This means that, for example, for the 80% of the day devoted to Spanish in kindergarten, the teachers give directions, speak, read books, and sing songs in Spanish only. When it is English time, the teachers speak only English. In the early childhood grades, children are encouraged, but not obligated, to speak the target language. They receive positive feedback when they respond with the appropriate language. When a child responds with the nontarget language, the teacher may repeat the child's response in the target language and encourage the student to repeat it as well.

In the upper grades, children are expected to speak, read, write, and understand the target language. For instance, beginning in third grade, all students, regardless of their dominant language, are expected to use Spanish to communicate during the 80% of the day devoted to that language. Students who enter the program late or who demonstrate difficulties acquiring their L2 receive help in a number of ways, including ESL and SSL.

In addition, students in all grades are encouraged to use each other as language resources. Teachers promote this interaction by teaching cooperative learning strategies from the earliest grades. For example, teachers seat students in heterogeneous groups within the classrooms, taking into account language dominance, academic ability, ethnicity, and gender, and encourage students to talk to each other and to ask each other for help. This practice reinforces the idea that every student is a teacher. If students cannot respond to a question in the target language, they are expected to ask someone at their table for guidance. Assignments are often completed cooperatively, allowing the students to consult with each other on both a linguistic and an academic level. Students are praised and evaluated as much for the work they do as for the amount of cooperation involved in completing it. Teachers reward the groups rather than individual students when they use the target language. This creates an atmosphere where students are motivated to use the L2 and to seek help when they cannot do so on their own.

TABLE 1. PROGRAM OVERVIEW

		Spanish Instruction		English Instruction	
Grade	**Age**	**%**	**Subjects**	**%**	**Subjects**
Pre-K	4	80	Language arts Math Art Music	20	Language arts Physical education
Kindergarten	5	80	Language arts Math Science Social studies Art Music	20	Language arts Physical education
1	6	80	Language arts Math Science Social studies Art	20	Language arts Music Physical education
2	7	80	Language arts Math Science Social studies Art	20	Language arts Music Physical education
3	8	80	Language arts Math Science Social studies Art	20	Language arts Music Physical education
4	9	80	Language arts Math Science Social studies Art	20	Language arts Music Physical education
5	10	60	Language arts Math Science Social studies Art	40	Language arts Math Science Social studies Art Music Physical education
6	11	50	Language arts Math Science Social studies Art	50	Language arts Math Science Social studies Art Music Physical education

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TABLE 1. PROGRAM OVERVIEW *(continued)*

		Spanish Instruction		*English Instruction*	
Grade	*Age*	*%*	*Subjects*	*%*	*Subjects*
7	12	50	Language arts Math Science Social studies Art	50	Language arts Math Science Social studies Art Music Physical education
8	13	50	Language arts Math Science Social studies Art	50	Language arts Math Science Social studies Art Music Physical education

Note: All grades include two separate language arts classes daily: one focusing on reading and writing in English, and the other on these skills in Spanish. Often one or both of these classes are integrated thematically with social studies or science. Beginning in fifth grade, subjects other than language arts are split in their language of instruction. For example, in sixth grade, science may be taught one week in Spanish and the next week in English.

Language and Literacy Development

Although the two-way immersion program is what makes Inter-American special, high academic expectations define the program as well. In the early childhood years the school places a strong emphasis on oral language development in the L2. As children progress in their first languages (L1s) and L2s, they are also developing in key academic areas. In pre-K and kindergarten (ages 4–5), children are surrounded by books in both languages. From the time they enter the classroom, they are immersed in oral and written language. Although children are at different stages of linguistic development, each is seen as an emerging speaker, reader, and writer of two languages. This sets the stage for more formal reading and writing instruction in first grade.

In pre-K through first grade, reading instruction is conducted primarily in each child's L1. Although all classrooms at Inter-American are heterogeneous by race, ethnicity, gender, language dominance, and academic ability, children are divided into language arts groups according to their L1 during pre-K and kindergarten. Each teacher in these grades teaches language arts in only one language, once a day. Throughout the day, children have many opportunities to use and develop all areas of their L1 and L2.

In first grade, children are formally taught reading by their classroom teacher in their L1. Native-Spanish-speaking students remain in the classroom for Spanish language arts while the native English speakers from all three first-grade classrooms are pulled out for SSL class. All students remain in the classroom for English language arts. Although the native English speakers are required to be active participants in English language arts class, the native Spanish speakers are permitted a more informal role. Elements of ESL are integrated into English language arts for the nonnative English speakers.

From second grade on, all students receive formal language instruction in English and Spanish in two distinct language arts classes each day. English-dominant students and Spanish-dominant students are integrated for language arts instruction, regardless of their L1. Only those children whom teachers have identified as needing additional support are pulled out for supplementary ESL or SSL.

Additional Program Components

Inter-American seeks out and develops math and science programs that are hands-on, are developmentally appropriate, and hold children to high standards. Because of the special nature of the school, these programs must be available in Spanish. Inter-American has had success with *Everyday Mathematics* (University of Chicago Mathematics Project, 1995, 1998, 1999) and the FOSS science modules published by Delta Education. Social studies is often integrated with Spanish language arts. Teachers use Spanish language trade books to explore and investigate history, world cultures, and geography.

DISTINGUISHING FEATURES

A Model Program

As the oldest two-way bilingual immersion school in the Midwest region of the United States, Inter-American serves as a model for administrators, teachers, and parents interested in implementing or restructuring their own two-way bilingual immersion programs. Inter-American hosts visitors an average of two times a week. Visitors observe in classrooms and meet with teachers, administrators, students, and parents. Observers most often comment on the students' high level of bilingualism and the innovative teaching that takes place.

Although the school is a model for other two-way bilingual immersion programs, teachers are also modeling best practices for those just entering the teaching profession. Inter-American has a long history of welcoming and supporting individuals who are preparing to be teachers, especially during their practicum (or student teaching) experience. One unusual program matches a teacher learner with a mentor teacher from Inter-American for an entire year. The FUTURO program, developed and sponsored in cooperation with Chicago State University, pays the students as teachers' aides for the first half of the school year. Mentor teachers acquaint them with classroom materials, practices, routines, and procedures. They also offer presentations to all FUTURO participants on such topics as developing early literacy and using music in the classroom. During the second half of the year, the participants become student teachers in the same classroom, and the mentor teachers gradually hand over full responsibility for the class to them. Mentors give ongoing feedback through dialogue journals and regular meetings. The student teachers attend all staff, committee, and grade-level meetings. This program allows teacher learners to experience a full-year cycle under the guidance of a mentor and helps ensure a supply of high-quality two-way immersion teachers who are experienced and knowledgeable in two-way theory and methodology. Some of the

FUTURO graduates go on to work at Inter-American, and others go on to teach in other two-way programs.

Parent Involvement

The active, ongoing role of parents is another strength of Inter-American. They participate at various levels within the school as a whole and in the individual classrooms. Many parents volunteer their time in the school, and some are paid a small stipend from the school budget for activities like remodeling the school library, accompanying classes on field trips, tutoring children, reading aloud to classes, monitoring the cafeteria and recess, and leading art projects. Parents also take a leading role on various school committees. They help develop schoolwide policies and effect positive changes.

Teachers and administrators actively encourage parents to visit the school and their children's classrooms. Teachers often invite parents to give presentations on subjects in which they have particular expertise. For example, when a class was studying bones in science class, a Mexican American father, who was a doctor, came and explained—in Spanish—about broken bones and marrow, and even put casts on each of the children.

Parents are also often invited in to share their personal histories and experiences. For example, when the third grade studied the Incas, the teacher invited a mother from Peru to talk to the class about her experiences growing up speaking Quechua (an indigenous language of Peru) and Spanish. It is important to note that both Spanish-dominant and English-dominant parents volunteer in all capacities throughout the school. Their presence provides the students with authentic opportunities for communication in both languages. The parents are also valuable linguistic and cultural role models for all students.

Studies of the Americas

One of the most distinctive features of the Inter-American program is Studies of the Americas. Developed by a team of teachers and parents, the Studies of the Americas program was designed to represent and reflect the language and cultural diversity of the Inter-American student body. This program guides the school's entire social studies curriculum. Pre-K through fourth-grade students receive social studies instruction in Spanish. In the earliest years, children study themselves and their local communities. In this way, all students are exposed to the vocabulary of the home, the city, and themselves in Spanish. Then they begin to study the indigenous communities of the Americas. First graders study the Native Americans of North America. In second through fifth grade, Studies of the Americas concentrates on pre-Hispanic cultures, integrating the language and history of the Latino population. In second grade, the students investigate the Tainos of Puerto Rico. Third graders learn about the Incas of Peru, and fourth graders research the Mayas of Mesoamerica. The fifth and sixth grades receive the majority of their social studies instruction in Spanish. The fifth graders continue the integration of the Spanish language and pre-Hispanic culture through the study of the Aztecs.

In sixth grade, the focus turns to the African influence on the Americas. With Spanish as the language of instruction, students explore the consequences and impact of the slave trade in the Americas. They also revisit the countries studied earlier and learn about Africa's influence on and contributions to the present-day cultures of those countries. By the end of sixth grade, students have learned about the resulting combination of the three predominant cultures constituting Latin America today: indigenous, Hispanic, and African. The seventh and eighth graders (ages 12–14) study themes relating to North America and Illinois. Using English as the language of instruction, seventh graders study the ancient civilizations of North America, such as the Hohokum and the Anasazi, and of Africa, such as the Kingdom of Kush. In addition, seventh graders learn about the American Revolution and Constitution. The eighth grade concentrates more specifically on Illinois history, with emphasis on the constitution of Illinois.

The Studies of the Americas curriculum is unusual not only in its focus on indigenous peoples of the past and present but also for the activism built into it. Many teachers are involved in social causes outside the classroom and encourage students to find and work for their own causes. As a result, students connect classroom studies to the outside world and use Spanish and English to communicate for authentic purposes. When some students decided to write a letter to the editor protesting a column they viewed as racist, they used their formal English letter-writing skills. When fourth graders visit their "senior buddies" in local nursing homes, they have to use their social Spanish skills.

PRACTICAL IDEAS

Celebrate and Serve the Community of the School

Creating community has always been important to the teachers, parents, and administrators of Inter-American Magnet School, and the community created is one in which all students and their families, from all language backgrounds, are celebrated. This celebration takes the form of three annual assemblies: the Winter Assembly in December, the African American Assembly in February, and the Pan-American Assembly in June. Each grade level participates in one assembly each year. Students work with their classroom teachers for 3 weeks to a month, during class, to prepare for these assemblies. Students sing, dance, create puppet shows, recite original poetry, or write and act out their own plays. Each class decides what language to use for their presentation, but the focus of the assembly influences the language chosen. Most presentations in the African American Assembly are in English. Most presentations in the Pan-American Assembly are in Spanish, and the Winter Assembly has presentations in both languages in about equal numbers.

Much thought and student input are involved in preparing for these assemblies. Many classes participate in a unit of study in addition to the regular curriculum before preparing for the assembly. For example, one year the third grade, which annually participates in the African American Assembly, studied Paul Robeson—a famous African American singer, actor, and statesman—before beginning to prepare for the assembly. Although Robeson spoke many languages and performed around the world, his most famous songs and roles were in English. For that reason, the unit of study was conducted in English, as an addition to the English language arts curriculum. The students read books about Robeson, visited a museum exhibit, and wrote essays and poetry about him. Then the three third-grade classrooms worked together to create art, learn songs, and memorize a choral reading celebrating Robeson.

In another celebration of the community, the fourth grade developed a year-long project to collect and publish stories unique to each child's family. Throughout the year students collect stories on certain themes from family members. Students are prompted to write about a family member's embarrassing moment or sad time or on how the family came to the United States. Because this unit emphasizes speaking and sharing with family members, stories are first collected in the language the child speaks at home. Toward the end of the year, students select one story, translate it into their L2, and publish it in both languages. Parents are then invited to an end-of-year Family Stories Night, when the children read their stories aloud in the language of their choice and everyone enjoys refreshments.

Students at Inter-American are also encouraged to broaden their community. In the Senior Buddies Program, students in three classrooms are matched with elderly nursing home residents who speak Spanish or English. Throughout the year, students write letters to, make art projects for, and share their schoolwork with their senior buddies in a series of visits to the nursing homes. At the end of the year, the students prepare a luncheon for their buddies and bring food from their home culture. The senior buddies come to the school by bus, take a tour of the school, and watch a student performance.

Use Classroom-Based Assessment

The Inter-American community has paid a great deal of attention to student assessment. In keeping with its belief in authentic, classroom-based assessment of the whole child, Inter-American has created two developmental report cards, one for first through third grades and a second for fourth through sixth grades. Each report card is available in both Spanish and English and is sent home in the language of the parent or guardian.

Teachers evaluate each child based on how frequently he or she demonstrates each skill listed on the card. The descriptors for first through third grade are as follows: Consistently, Often, Sometimes, *Is* beginning to, and Never. The skills evaluated are organized by subject matter. Language arts is divided into subcategories for each language (English and Spanish): reading, listening and speaking, and writing. Each subcategory includes a list of four or five skills. In addition, the first-, second-, and third-grade report cards include a subcategory within the language arts section entitled *second language*. This subcategory is used for students in first and second grades (6- and 7-year-olds) and for those students in third grade (8-year-olds) who are new to the program or who have had great difficulty in acquiring their L2. The ESL or SSL teacher fills out this portion. Otherwise, by third grade, all students are evaluated in all subcategories in both languages. Also, students who enter the program bilingual or who acquire their L2 by first or second grade are evaluated in all language arts subcategories in both languages. The decision on how to evaluate the student is made by the individual classroom teacher and may change as the school year progresses. The goal is to hold all students to the standard of native speakers of the target language.

In addition to language arts, students in first through third grades are evaluated in math, science, social studies, music, art, physical education, library, and social growth and work habits. Although some of these subjects are taught in a child's L2, the child is evaluated on his or her performance in the subject area, not on language ability. For example, science is taught in Spanish in first through third grades. When English-dominant students are asked to perform and write up an experiment, they are evaluated on how well they have followed the scientific process even if their write-up includes grammatical errors or other Spanish language mistakes. These kinds of language issues are noted and evaluated in the language arts section.

The fourth- through sixth-grade report card uses number descriptors: 4 for *consistently meets or exceeds requirements*, 3 for *meets requirements*, 2 for *occasionally meets requirements*, and 1 for *minimal progress/does not meet requirements*.

Both report cards also include a space for parents to evaluate their children on their at-home academic behavior and attitudes toward school, and a place for the children to evaluate themselves. These evaluations are discussed during parent-teacher conferences. Like the report cards themselves, the conferences are conducted in the language most comfortable for the parent or guardian of the student.

In order to fully evaluate each child, teachers collect information on their students through many one-to-one, small-group, and large-group interactions with the students as well as by reviewing written work. As teachers observe, talk to, and interact with their students, they take the time during class, preparation periods, or after school to record the information in running anecdotal records. For many teachers, these records take the form of a separate note card for each student in each subject area and are used as references for parent-teacher conferences and report cards. Teachers keep records on students' academic process, specific in-class successes and challenges, behavior, and homework.

Integrate Instruction and Assessment

Teachers strive to integrate content areas within individual classroom assignments and entire units. To this end, many teachers use content area journals. For example, math journals give students the opportunity to explore their own problem-solving strategies as well as the experience of writing in a new genre. Because math is taught in Spanish, students write in their math journals in Spanish. Teachers are then able to assess math comprehension as well as language proficiency. Teachers use the math journals to evaluate performance in math, and information gathered about language helps focus further formal language instruction.

For example, in many classrooms students are asked to use their math journals to explain how they arrived at a particular answer to a problem. This allows the teacher great insight into the students' mathematical thinking processes and the opportunity to evaluate and shape their math strategies. But as the children demonstrate their understanding of math, they also demonstrate writing ability in Spanish. Teachers therefore have the opportunity to assess the Spanish writing of both L1 and L2 learners. For native Spanish speakers, the teacher may note that a child does not yet use periods and capitals or has not yet mastered when to use the silent *h*. For L2 learners, the math journal may highlight problems with subject-verb agreement or the use of feminine and masculine articles. After gathering such information, the teacher may decide to hold a whole-class minilesson on periods during Spanish language arts class or work with a small group of students or an individual student on the use of articles.

Integrate Language, Content, and Research Skill Development

Another activity combines language development, research, and content area study. Because Inter-American is a two-way immersion school, teachers are always looking for materials in Spanish and for ways to integrate and connect the two languages. Science is an area that teachers use to combine content area study with language development. For example, second graders are given the opportunity to get to know an animal by raising it in their classroom. This firsthand study and observation is conducted in Spanish as students generate observations, questions, and experiments. The students learn the Spanish vocabulary specific to the animal as well as the vocabulary necessary to conduct experiments. After observing and caring for the animals for several weeks, the students develop a list of questions they would like to answer.

The focus of the unit then shifts to research, and the language of instruction becomes English. Skills needed in the search for answers to their questions, such as using the parts of a book (e.g., table of contents, index, glossary), are introduced. In the process, students learn science and research vocabulary in English. They also learn to transfer knowledge from Spanish to English, as they must use what they have learned in Spanish to direct their research in English.

The teacher provides a wide variety of research materials in English to meet the various levels of English reading ability and English acquisition. Students work individually, in pairs, or in small groups, and native speakers assist L2 learners in understanding the materials and performing the assigned tasks. Once the students have practiced and are comfortable with basic research skills, they are introduced to how to take notes, how to organize their notes, and how to turn their notes into a coherent report in English. As they prepare for writing their report, students invoke their prior knowledge—what they learned in Spanish in science class—and add what they are currently learning through research to write a final report in English.

Once the reports are written and edited, students decide how to share the reports with the larger school community. They may take their animals into other classrooms, have an animal fun fair, or write a newspaper about their animal. Although the final reports are written in English, the presentations may be given in either language. By the end of the unit, students have a large knowledge base and vocabulary in both languages.

Use Thematic Units to Unify Content Areas

Other integrated units focus on themes that unify several or all content areas, providing students with authentic opportunities to discover connections among concepts. For example, the fourth-grade teachers have developed an integrated unit on the rainforest that lasts up to 3 months. In English Language Arts students choose a rainforest animal to research and create fact/fiction boxes based on what they have learned. In social studies, which is conducted in Spanish, students are given dilemma cards, which present them with complex problems facing the rainforest, its animals, and its people. Students must try to solve these problems individually or in groups. In Spanish Language Arts, students read the book *Dentro de la Selva Tropical* (*Inside the Tropical Rainforest*; Willow, 1991, 1993). Teachers chose this book because of the rich language. Students look for interesting nouns, verbs, and adjectives. They then develop their own Spanish language dictionaries of the rainforest, complete with illustrations. In science, students do experiments with tropical plants and study the distinctive physical features of plants of the rainforest. In math, conducted in Spanish, through *Everyday Mathematics*, students go on a world tour, including a visit to a South American rainforest. Students map, record, and calculate mileage traveled, find the latitude and longitude of various locations, and figure out the times in different time zones. These are just a few of the many activities included in this unit.

CONCLUSION

For several nights each school year, the Inter-American Magnet School gym turns into an international food bazaar. *Arroz con gandules* sits next to shrimp fried rice while handmade corn tortillas share the table with takeout pizza. Many voices can be heard: children laughing and screaming, older voices speaking confidently in Spanish, other voices trying out new words in Spanish, loud conversations in English, shy voices hesitantly speaking English. The Inter-American community has come together for another potluck dinner. The line between teacher and parent becomes blurred, as many teachers are parents of Inter-American students. Children run around with friends they cannot easily see on week nights; because the school draws from the entire city of Chicago, classmates may live miles away from each other. Students, parents, teachers, and administrators mingle easily, without the urgency of the daytime pressures.

And although the potluck dinner allows time for people to talk to old friends and meet the new faces, no gathering of the Inter-American community would be complete without the presence of masking tape, large pieces of newsprint paper, and lots of markers. A potluck dinner at Inter-American is rarely just a dinner. It is also a time to form action committees to respond to a new policy from the Board of Education or for parents, teachers, and administrators to discuss recent events at the school.

The Inter-American Magnet School is its community of parents, teachers, and administrators. Parents founded the school, have always had a strong voice in shaping the school, and continue to keep Inter-American true to its goal of providing high-quality education in two languages. Teachers never forget that they are learners, too. They continually grow professionally through in-school collaborative work, through outside classes and workshops, and by reading and participating in current academic research. Administrators encourage participation by parents and teachers at all levels of the school. They actively seek teacher and parent input in school improvement and growth, and welcome teacher-initiated plans and ideas.

The strength of Inter-American's two-way immersion program lies in its diverse population and its constant exchange of different points of view. Its continual growth comes from this ongoing dialogue in which all community members are welcomed and encouraged to participate. Inter-American never ceases to explore new ideas, opening up new possibilities for development and growth. Inter-American truly has become and will continue to work on being the bilingual, multicultural community its founders envisioned almost 30 years ago.

CONTRIBUTORS

Cheryl Urow worked at Inter-American Magnet School as a third-grade teacher for 5 years. She currently teaches third grade in a new two-way bilingual immersion in Highland Park, Illinois, in the United States, where she lives with her husband and daughter.

Jill Sontag is starting her seventh year at Inter-American Magnet School. In 2000, she won the prestigious Golden Apple for Outstanding Teaching. In addition, she facilitates the Saturday Seminar Program for the Chicago Area Writing Project and has been involved with FUTURO as a mentor as well as a facilitator of several content area and two-way bilingual immersion workshops.

CHAPTER 3

Success for All in a Two-Way Immersion School

Margarita Calderon and Robert E. Slavin

INTRODUCTION

This case study is about a school in the United States that provides a special, literacy-based program in a bilingual school. The school serves students who already speak English, the national language (referred to as *mainstream* or *language majority* students) and students who speak another language at home most of the time and are in the process of learning English. Students from the two language groups receive instruction together in the same classrooms for most of the school day. The program, called *two-way immersion*, aims to promote bilingual proficiency among both groups of students. The Spanish speakers continue to develop their first language (L1), and learn English as a second language (L2), while the native English speakers continue to develop English and also learn Spanish. Nationally, two-way immersion program models vary in the amount of instruction the students receive through each language. This school follows the 50-50 model, in which 50% of the daily instruction is given in English and 50% in Spanish, at all elementary grade levels—kindergarten to Grade 6. To achieve the goal of bilingualism, attention to literacy development in both languages is crucial, and this school is implementing a program called Success for All/*Exito Para Todos* (SFA/EPT) that emphasizes literacy within a two-way immersion model.

SFA/EPT is an instructional program that focuses on developing oral language, reading, and writing in English and Spanish. It has a research base of 12 years in schools with diverse populations (Slavin & Calderón, 2001; Slavin & Madden, 2001; Slavin, Madden, Dolan, & Wasik, 1996). It is a comprehensive, schoolwide (pre-K through fifth grade) approach that is implemented during 90-minute blocks each day, with additional one-on-one tutoring for students who need extra help, regular student assessments, a family support/family literacy program, and extensive teacher development and support. The English version of SFA has been implemented in 1,500 schools throughout the United States and about 50 schools in England, Australia, and Canada. Hebrew and Arabic versions have been implemented in 20 schools in Israel. The Spanish/English version, SFA/EPT, has been implemented in about 300 schools in the United States. Four schools in Mexico have used the Spanish version only. Most U.S. applications of SFA/EPT have been in transitional bilingual programs in which students exit Spanish instruction after second grade. The case study in this chapter describes a two-way immersion adaptation, in which all students continue their instruction in both languages throughout elementary school (through fifth grade).

CONTEXT

This pilot bilingual version of SFA/EPT is being conducted in Hueco Elementary School in the Socorro Independent School District outside the city of El Paso, Texas. The school has a 100% Latino population—students from families with Mexican and Central and South American backgrounds. However, about 37% of these students are fluent only in English, 33% are fluent in Spanish and English, and 30% are fluent only in Spanish and are in the process of learning English. About 89% of the students are from a family with a low socioeconomic status.

In 1998–1999, 400 students were enrolled in the school; by 1999–2000, enrollment had increased to 650, and 10 new teachers had been hired. The 2000–2001 school year saw the student population increase to 800. More than 200 students were transfers from other schools in the district whose parents wanted them to attend the two-way immersion program. Parents have ranged from native-born, 10th-generation Hispanics to newcomers from Mexico. Some parents have lost their Spanish, and their children are proficient in English only. These parents now want to recapture their heritage through their children's participation in the school's bilingual program. The children of the school's principal and those of several teachers also attend the school. The goal of the teachers and parents is for 100% of the students to be proficient in both Spanish and English by the end of fifth grade.

Hueco Elementary is surrounded by cotton fields and sturdy adobe homes ranging in age from more than 150 years to brand new. Juarez, Mexico, is only 20 minutes away by car. The Socorro Mission, a few blocks from the school, was built in the 16th century. The school is close to the site where Thanksgiving was celebrated by Don Juan de Onate and the Tigua and Piro Indians in 1598, 23 years before the Pilgrims celebrated their first Thanksgiving in what is now New England. This historic community continues to be proud of its Hispanic heritage.

Hueco Elementary was recognized in 2000 as one of the top 10 schools by Just for the Kids, an educational research organization that is studying academic excellence in the state of Texas. The Texas (state) Educational Agency has also recognized Hueco Elementary as a school of excellence, based on the percentage of its students who have passed the state-mandated assessments in reading, writing, and math.

DESCRIPTION

In the 50-50 two-way immersion approach, Hueco's students receive 50% of their daily instruction in Spanish and 50% in English. English-dominant and Spanish-dominant students are in the same classes and serve as language models for one another during instruction in their dominant language. Reading instruction is based on the SFA/EPT program. For that program, teachers receive extensive professional development at the beginning of each year, with follow-up workshops and implementation visits throughout the year. They receive all the materials they need, including literature books, children's books, classroom posters, teacher's manuals, and ancillary materials.

At the heart of SFA/EPT is 90 minutes of uninterrupted daily reading instruction at each grade level. Beginning in Grade 1 (ages 6–7), the students are grouped across classes and grades by reading level, giving most teachers the opportunity to work intensively with students at one reading level in the language that the students know best. In Grades 2–5 (ages 7–11), reading instruction in the L2 is introduced using the same language-reading-writing methods and materials that are used to teach the students in their L1. Teachers adapt the instructional components for this bilingual school so that students develop basic literacy skills in both languages. They see the intensive focus on reading and writing along with oral language development as critical for students' success. Cooperative learning, also an integral component of the program, provides ongoing opportunities for high-quality peer interaction connected to reading and writing. Expectations for student interaction during cooperative activities have been formulated based on the principles of individual accountability, common goals, and recognition of group success.

Systematic assessments are administered every 8 weeks to ensure that students are making adequate progress and to help teachers determine if particular students need extra tutoring or family support services. Instructional time for reading/writing and other activities in each language is organized differently at each grade level to suit the needs and developmental levels of the students. The following sections describe the organization of instruction in the two languages (i.e., the two-way immersion component) followed by the program's reading/writing activities by grade level.

Pre-K/Kindergarten

The Early Learning/*Áprendizaje Inicial* program in the half-day pre-K and kindergarten classes (ages 3–5) is delivered by alternating the use of the two languages by day for the first 4 weeks of school. For the remainder of the first half of the year, students move into what is called the *3-2 model*. At first, the students are immersed in listening comprehension, discussion, reading, and writing activities in Spanish for 1 hour a day for Days 1, 2, and 3. Each day, an additional 2 hours is spent in thematic centers and other activities conducted in either language. On the following 2 days (Days 4 and 5), the pattern is repeated, but the focus language is English. Students are immersed for 1 hour a day in language-based activities in English, followed by 2 hours of activities in either language. Later, the languages are inverted so that the students use English during the first 3 days for the main literacy activities and Spanish for Days 4 and 5. In the second half of the school year, the students have "language of the week"—Spanish is used 1 week for 90 minutes of early literacy, and English is used the following week. The students spend the rest of the morning in centers, music, physical education, and other such activities in the their home language.

The pre-K and kindergarten program emphasizes oral language development using thematic units, children's literature, oral and written expression, and learning centers. The centers are organized around themes, such as dinosaurs or plants, and include art, construction, dramatic play, manipulatives, science experiences, writing, and listening/media. The purpose of center activities is to provide the students ample opportunity to play independently and to learn in a hands-on fashion the concepts that are presented in each thematic unit. Selected components of the pre-K/kindergarten program are described in the following subsections.

Storytelling and Retelling/Contar y Recontar el Cuento

Prereading activities promote the development of concepts about print, alphabet familiarity, phonemic awareness, and listening comprehension in both languages. Teachers begin the day with Story Telling and Retelling (STaR), or *Contar y Recontar el Cuento* (CyReC). This activity creates opportunities for the students to listen to a variety of stories; to think and to ask and answer questions about stories; and to talk about and retell stories, both individually and in interactive group settings. The students are exposed to a rich array of age-appropriate stories in both languages. They hear their teacher read stories, talk about the elements that make up stories, and discuss the meaning of stories. They see how the pictures in the storybook relate to what is being read. They begin to understand that reading involves understanding words written on the page. They have the opportunity to retell stories to one another and often use dramatization, which can facilitate their understanding of the stories and their later recollection of them. The students use either English or Spanish to ask questions about the stories they are reading and, in this way, discover things they do not understand in the stories. They observe other children listening, watching, and asking questions about the stories, and they also get to put their heads together with their buddies before answering one another's questions.

Shared Book/Libro Compartido

In this component, the teachers use big books/*cuentos grandes* so the students can see the print and pictures in the book easily. Big books are used to teach the students the structure and function of print, an essential component of early literacy instruction. While the teacher reads from the big book, the students

- learn print directionality, as the teacher moves a hand or pointer from left to right under the print in the story
- see that the teacher is reading words and that words are clusters of letters
- listen to the teacher's use of inflection and intonation and connect these features of oral language to the content and structure of the text
- learn that print is constant and that the same configuration of letters stands for the same word every time

Peabody Language Development Kit

Focusing on vocabulary development, the materials in the *Peabody Language Development Kit* (Dunn, Smith, & Horton, 1981) are used to stimulate language/vocabulary and cognitive development in English and Spanish. The teacher uses the "language of the day" to conduct calendar, phonemic awareness, letter investigation, graphing, and other activities for 45 minutes. Afterward, the students go to the thematic centers.

Rhyme With Reason/Rima con Razon

Rhyme With Reason/*Rima con Razon* focuses on phonemic awareness—the ability to recognize and manipulate the sounds that make up words. The approach to phonemic awareness that is adopted here is not direct instruction in phonics. Rather, through the use of poetry and nursery rhymes, the students learn to play with sounds in words and to understand the relationship between sounds and the printed word.

The students are also exposed to the diversity of their heritages because the approach uses traditional songs and nursery rhymes from various Latino cultures. The use of poetry, rhymes, and songs from both languages is also a way for the students to learn strings of discourse, with appropriate intonation and pronunciation, in two languages.

Instruction in this component is designed for a whole-class format. There are seven main developmental sequences: (a) exposure to ending rhymes, (b) recognition of ending rhymes, (c) production of ending rhymes, (d) exposure to beginning sounds (alliteration), (e) recognition of beginning sounds, (f) production of beginning sounds, and (g) simple syllable segmentation. Each sequence is presented consecutively. The activities take approximately 10–15 minutes each and can be integrated with movement activities as well as additional literature activities. The teacher's thematic manuals contain the poetry, teaching strategies, and duplicating materials they need along with an extensive list of rhyming books, books that contain alliteration, and rhyming poetry (Slavin et al., 1996).

Letter Investigation/Investigación de las Letras

Based on evidence that knowledge of letters is one of the best predictors of future reading success (Slavin & Madden, in press), Letter Investigation/*Investigación de las Letras* focuses on the exploration of the physical features of the letters of the alphabet and the role that letters play in everyday life. Letter investigation activities are also integrated into the theme (e.g., dinosaurs, plants, Japan) while capitalizing on the students' prior knowledge and interest in print. The students learn the alphabet in preparation for becoming independent, fluent, and strategic readers and writers.

Kinder Roots/Kinder Lee Conmigo

During the second half of kindergarten, the students are introduced to formal reading through a series of 16 books called Kinder Roots/*Kinder Lee Conmigo*. These books allow students to read complex, engaging, and interesting stories even though they may only know a few letter sounds. Each page in these books has a teacher section and a student section. The student sections use only the letter sounds and words students have learned and a few key sight words and *readles* (words represented by pictures). The teacher sections provide a context for the story and include predictive questions that are answered in the student sections.

Grade 1

In Grade 1 (ages 6–7) the teachers alternate languages for reading instruction on a weekly basis. After 90 minutes of reading in Spanish, they use interdisciplinary and thematic units to integrate content and language development in Spanish or English the rest of the day. The following week they devote the 90 minutes of reading instruction to English and use thematic units to teach the other content areas in either English or Spanish.

Instruction in the Grade 1 reading program (Reading Roots/*Lee Conmigo*) focuses on both phonics and meaning in a balanced way, using children's literature and a series of interesting, enjoyable stories in which phonetically regular text is enriched by teacher-read text, similar to that used in kindergarten. The 90-minute cycle begins with 20 minutes of listening comprehension using the STaR/CyReC materials, described earlier.

STaR/CyReC

The strategies used with these materials are similar to those used with the kindergarten materials, although higher level books are read to the children and more advanced activities follow.

Reading Roots/Lee Conmigo

After the daily 20 minutes of STaR/CyReC, the teachers and students use *shared stories* that build on previously learned letters, sounds, and words. More specific skills related to sharpening auditory discrimination, hearing sounds in words, identifying the sounds associated with specific letters, and blending letter sounds into words are developed in Reading Roots/*Lee Conmigo* lessons. The lessons are structured around 50 shared books in Spanish and 48 in English called *shared stories*. Students engage in reading and writing activities with a partner. During pair reading, two students at a time read to each other, alternating pages, and discuss what they read. Afterward, the teachers work with the whole class again, using fast-paced lessons that incorporate puppets, sounds, chants, whole-class responses, and metacognitive skills training to build comprehension, fluency, and confidence in reading. In addition, the lessons develop general strategies for facilitating word recognition and text comprehension (e.g., using context and pictures to unlock words and meaning, previewing, self-questioning, and summarizing, all of which allow students to monitor their own comprehension) so that students become independent readers who experience the joy of reading.

The shared stories use Spanish regional vocabulary from many parts of the United States, Mexico, Latin America, and Spain so that the students are exposed to the diversity and richness of the Spanish language. For example, children from certain regions know the word *melocotón* (peach) whereas in other regions the same fruit is called *durazno*. The students learn to respect and appreciate their own dialect as well as the dialects of others.

Grades 2–5

In Grades 2–5 (ages 7–11), students read 1 week in English and 1 week in Spanish, alternating the Reading Wings and *Alas Para Leer* components. Reading Wings/*Alas Para Leer* is designed for students at second- through fifth-grade reading levels and is built around the school's existing novels, anthologies, and basal readers. It emphasizes cooperative learning activities in which students work in teams to improve strategic reading and comprehension skills and to explore literature. Specifically, this component was designed to

- teach strategies for reading
- extend reading comprehension skills
- enhance written expression
- promote oral language proficiency
- develop fluency in reading
- develop listening comprehension skills
- encourage cooperative learning
- foster love of reading

At the beginning of the year, when the students are being assessed for placement, the teachers use a 2-week literature component to teach students the norms and protocols for working effectively in teams. After the assessment, students are regrouped for reading across grade lines so that teachers work with just one reading group of students at the same reading level instead of with multiple levels. The students are assessed every 8 weeks in order to determine their progress, to move some to higher levels when ready, and to provide tutoring to those who need extra help.

The 90-minute lessons from Reading Wings/*Alas Para Leer* for second to fifth graders are made up of three components that are implemented over a 5-day cycle. They apply to both the Spanish and English reading programs:

1. listening comprehension
   - direct instruction on genre, content, and story structure
   - modeling of the use of expressive reading, self-questioning during reading, and other appropriate reading behaviors and strategies to enhance the construction of meaning
   - development of an understanding of author's craft, such as foreshadowing, flashback, figurative language, and genre of literature
   - use of graphic organizers, such as story maps and idea webs, to enhance text comprehension
2. reading together
   - story-related activities for working with partners and in teams
   - direct instruction in reading comprehension
   - 2-minute edit
   - writing of meaningful sentences
   - story retelling
   - story-related writing
3. book club/additional skills instruction
   - students' independent reading
   - sharing of books read through dramatizations, reading circles, and other student-generated activities

Students are organized in four- to five-member teams. Team members are responsible for making sure that they and their teammates have learned the strategies the teacher has presented. Teammates work together in a variety of ways, ranging from partner reading, to team study, to serving as a peer response group for writing activities. Teams earn scores based on the average performance of their members and may earn certificates or other recognition if their scores meet or exceed a certain criterion.

Writing is emphasized throughout the week as a method for creative expression and responding to literature. Students plan, draft, revise, edit, and publish compositions with feedback from teachers and peers. The writing process is conducted in the language in which the students are reading.

DISTINGUISHING FEATURES

Research on two-way immersion has shown that the participating students acquire functional proficiency in both languages and demonstrate strong academic achievement (August & Hakuta, 1997; Christian, 1996; Christian, Montone, Lindholm, & Carranza, 1997; Genesee, 1999). Although these programs hold great promise for the academic achievement of English language learners (Collier, 1995; Ovando & Collier, 1998), there are some concerns about the quality of instruction delivered in the minority language (Spanish) and about results indicating lower academic gains among English language learners in comparison with language majority students in the same programs (Valdes, 1997). In two-way immersion classrooms across the United States, a great deal of instructional time has been devoted to oral development and, in our opinion, not enough to the development of literacy in both languages. In the early grades, for example, instead of teaching initial reading and writing skills, programs spend a lot of time building vocabulary before exposing students to actual written texts. Instruction in early literacy needs more attention in these programs. Indeed, concerns about early literacy are currently receiving much attention for all students in the United States. Snow, Burns, and Griffin (1998), authors of one of the most quoted recent volumes on early reading, conclude following a review of research that

- Reading should be viewed as a process of getting meaning from print.
- Reading requires using knowledge about the alphabet and its relationship to oral language.
- Reading assumes knowledge about the sound structure of oral language for purposes of achieving understanding.
- Reading instruction should include direct teaching about sound-symbol relationships to children who have not already acquired this knowledge.
- Reading instruction should maintain a focus on the communicative purposes and personal value of reading.

Clearly, reading instruction developed for native-English-speaking students requires extensive adaptation if it is to be used successfully with English language learners. Understanding the links between oral and written language is challenging for students who are learning to read and write a new language. Moreover, if instruction is to focus on meaning, as recommended by Snow et al. (1998), then English language learners must be given instruction that will help them learn to read words so they can create meaning and understand whole texts. Such learners may not be familiar with the various forms and functions of print (e.g., stories, directions, explanations), even in their primary language. In the case of L2 learners, direct instruction in these core skills can facilitate mastery of the skills that underlie fluent reading and writing. In other words, phonological awareness and word decoding skills, along with strategies for creating meaning from written language, should be taught systematically to English language learners in two-way immersion programs.

At the same time, research on second language acquisition (SLA) and bilingual education indicates the following:

- Development of the primary language of English language learners enhances their acquisition of English as an L2. Development of the primary language includes both the social and academic functions of language (Cummins, 1981).

- Language and thought are socially constructed (Vygotsky, 1978), and cooperative learning helps English language learners acquire proficiency in social and academic language (Calderon, 1994).

To combine the principles of effective early literacy instruction with those of effective SLA, as outlined above, Hueco Elementary School has amalgamated a two-way instructional program with a special early literacy program designed for monolingual instruction. In this way, the school seeks to combine best practices from theories of SLA and bilingual education with best practices from SFA/EPT, a research-based reading program that has been implemented widely in schools throughout the United States (Calderon & Carreon, 2001; Slavin & Calderón, 2001; Slavin & Madden, 2001).

Other distinctive features of the program include an extensive set of non-instructional components that support student learning; some of the key ones are described below.

Tutoring

One-to-one tutoring is used as an early intervention program for students, especially first graders, who are experiencing difficulties learning to read in either language. The students receive daily tutoring from certified teachers or well-qualified instructional assistants that is designed to reinforce classroom instruction. The tutor diagnoses students' needs and tailors instruction to meet those needs.

School Facilitator

The full-time facilitator (a certified teacher) helps faculty and staff implement the program. The facilitator at Hueco Elementary describes himself as an instructional leader who provides teachers with counsel, support, and information through classroom visits, coaching, and frequent meetings. He organizes and monitors data from the 8-week assessments and acts as a liaison among teachers, administrators, tutors, family support staff, parents, and the SFA trainers. Hueco, like all other SFA schools, is assigned several SFA/EPT trainers from the SFA Foundation to train and work with them during throughout the year. The Hueco facilitator becomes the main link between the SFA Foundation and the school.

Family Support

Family support and integrated services are provided to help resolve nonacademic problems students may have. A family support team works closely with all students, parents, and the community. The team includes staff members (e.g., the principal or program facilitator) along with social workers, counselors, attendance monitors, teachers, and volunteers. The team plans activities that involve parents in their children's education, such as workshops on reading in Spanish or English with children at home. The team also develops plans to meet the needs of individual students having difficulty, closely monitors attendance, and integrates community and school resources.

Professional Development

Professional development is an essential ingredient in successful program implementation and is purposefully constructed. At the beginning of each year, SFA/EPT trainers provide 3 consecutive days of training on all components of SFA/EPT at the school. The trainers return to the school for three 2-day visits during the year to work with the principal, facilitators, and teachers to build and sustain strong implementation. Teachers get together in teams once a week to review their progress and solve problems in their own learning communities. Professional development maintains a strong focus on the literacy and language development of all students in two languages and an ongoing effort to improve instruction.

Teachers' Learning Communities

Most schools find it difficult to give teachers time during the school day to get together in collegial teams to study their craft and to optimize implementation of the instructional program. Research on teacher development (Hord, 1997; Lieberman & Miller, 1991) and studies of teachers' learning communities in language minority school settings (Calderón, 1998, 1999) find that weekly opportunities for teachers to meet are vital for consistent implementation and high-quality outcomes. The principal and teachers at Hueco are convinced that teachers need to be given time for collegial learning and have found a way to create this time during the workday. From Monday through Thursday, teachers cut down their lunchtime and bank the extra minutes for an extended lunch on Fridays. The principal encourages them to go off campus to hold their team meetings over lunch. The teachers have developed forms to document their meetings and activities. These forms are submitted to the principal. In addition, students are released early once a month so that teachers can meet for 2–3 hours.

In this way, the teachers take a strong leadership role in the program's success. They enjoy their work and report feeling empowered and not burdened. The teams of teachers have designed special T-shirts for themselves with their names and logos, such as "STaRs" and "Dream Team," which they proudly wear every Friday.

Parents' Understanding of Dual Language

This sense of community is also important among the parents in the school. One strategy that has worked quite well is to keep parents informed and help them understand the intricacies of the two-way immersion program. The school takes time to explain the purpose for everything. The principal and teachers constantly advocate for the value of two languages and stress that students have more advantages when they are bilingual. To keep language minority parents involved, teachers visit at least six homes a year. They usually meet the students' grandparents, who are often the students' primary caretakers. Grandparents typically speak only Spanish, and the parents typically speak only English. The local schools created this generation gap when they refused to teach or speak in Spanish. Now the grandparents, parents, and school are working together to help the next generation become fluent bilinguals. To set the tone, the principal models his commitment to improving his own Spanish skills by writing essays and school-related documents in Spanish himself. According to the principal, the faculty has a philosophy that "you can find hindrances if you choose to, but for each, there are 10 good reasons you should value dual-language instruction."

Whole-School Adoption and Implementation

The two-way immersion program SFA/EPT is a whole-school model, and as such the school must adopt it based on a secret ballot with approval of at least 80%. To emulate the strategies demonstrated by Hueco Elementary School and other SFA/EPT schools moving toward dual-language instruction, school staff should work together to build consensus on adopting the program, contact other schools nearby using the model, and obtain administrative support and resources.

PRACTICAL IDEAS

Combine L2 and Interactive Reading Strategies

The following scenario from a first-grade STaR activity illustrates how to combine L2 strategies and interactive reading strategies to build comprehension and target vocabulary for discussions, no matter how limited the students might be in their L2. This type of integrated instruction is an important ingredient of literacy development in a bilingual setting. The example below is given in English, but teachers teaching Spanish to non-Spanish speakers might apply the same strategies. The activities for Day 1 of a 5-day cycle of teacher-student interactive reading might be as shown in Figure 1.

For a story such as *Leo the Late Bloomer* (Kraus, 1971), a teacher might give an introduction such as this:

> Who can point to the top of the book? Who can point to the title? Yes, this is the title and it says *Leo the Late Bloomer*. Who is Leo? Yes, the lion on the cover page. Is this the front cover or back cover? [Students answer in chorus, "the front cover."] What else do we see on the front cover under the title? Yes, the author. Now [pointing to the bottom of the cover], whose name do we see here? Yes, the illustrator.

- Review book conventions.
- Introduce and discuss challenging vocabulary.
- Make predictions about the story from the vocabulary, title of the book, and pictures on the cover or inside pages.
- Introduce the story setting and main characters.
- Begin interactive story reading. Ask summative, predictive, and inferential questions.
- Use the think-aloud strategy whenever possible.
- Give opportunities for peer assistance and peer practice (cooperative learning).
- Begin story retelling.

Figure 1. Story Introduction for Teacher-Student Interactive Reading, Day 1 (20 minutes)

After making one or two predictions of what the story might be about, the teacher brings out two pictures of flowers. One is in full bloom, and the other is about to open. The teacher teaches the concept of *bloom* and then asks the students to turn to their partners and discuss why they think Leo is a late bloomer. After a minute, the teacher asks, "Who would like to tell me what their partner said?" The teacher writes down one or two key words on the board as students offer their predictions.

After a few examples, the teacher states, "We are going to read this story to find out why Leo is a late bloomer. First let's look at three words that are going to be a challenge for all of us as we read this story." The words (*late, bloomer, couldn't*) are already written on a chart along with the title of the story, the author's name, and the illustrator's name. The chart also includes a cognitive map with blocks (now blank) labeled *main idea, main characters, setting, problem,* and *solution*.

The teacher reads the first two pages (which consist of two sentences each) and stops to confirm the first two predictions. The teacher reads one more page, then asks the students a question. Students give one- or two-word responses. One student comes up to point at a picture on a previous page. The teacher reads one more page, stops, and then thinks aloud, "I wonder what this word means? Let me read this sentence again to see if I can guess what it means." As the teacher reads it again, two students raise their hands because they have guessed the meaning.

After reading two more pages, the teacher says, "Let's summarize what we've heard so far. Turn to your partners and summarize the story." After a couple of minutes, the teacher asks, "Who wants to begin telling what we've read so far?" The first student offers the title and says, "The story is about Leo." Other students add one or two words from each page to show reasons Leo is a late bloomer. The teacher asks the children to give themselves a silent cheer and tells them they will continue to read the story tomorrow to find more reasons.

This interactive story-reading technique stresses the importance of not only reading to students who are acquiring an L2 but also including them in the reading process, no matter how limited their English or other language might be. L2 acquirers can retell familiar stories, but the teacher must make the story familiar. The students can carry on short conversations with peers and teacher by using appropriate gestures, expressions, and illustrative objects, or as in this case, the book's illustrations.

Figure 2 shows activities for Days 2–5. On Day 2, the teacher and students go back to the book. The teacher begins by asking the students to recall the title and author of the story and then encouraging them to recall the story characters, setting, and the main idea or the problem of the story along with the key vocabulary. The teacher rereads the pages that were read the day before without interrupting to ask questions and proceeds to read the second part using the interactive technique. As the teacher and students finish the story, the teacher asks them to put their heads together and summarize the story for each other. The 20 minutes end with students and teacher filling out the cognitive map blocks on the chart described above, with the teacher writing in the story elements as students call them out.

Some sample activities for Days 3–5 follow. During interactive story circle, the whole class participates in retelling the story read the day before. Retelling a story is proof that the L2 learners are learning new vocabulary and key story elements. Retelling can take several forms, including

- Reread the first part of the story
- Invite students to recall the title and author of the story
- Invite students to recall the story's characters, setting, and main idea or problem
- Invite students to recall the story resolution or ending
- Review key vocabulary as it relates to the story
- After reading the complete story, explain the purpose of the story map
- Model the use of the book to extract story map information and student recall
- Hold an interactive story circle
- Use sequence cards
- Have students dramatize the story
- Have students share the story
- Review vocabulary, idioms, phrases, and rhymes

FIGURE 2. Story Review and Summary for Teacher-Student Interactive Reading, Days 2–5

- interactive story circle: Students and teacher sit in a circle, and the teacher begins retelling the story. The book can be used as a prompt. The student seated to the right of the teacher continues where the teacher leaves off, and the process continues until all students have had a turn and the story is complete. The story can be started again if all students have not had a turn.
- sequence cards: These are cards with pictures or drawings depicting events from the story. The first time, the teacher hands out the cards in sequence to the students who sit in a circle and asks them to say something about the card they are holding. In variations, the teacher gives teams or partners two or three cards and encourages them to put them in sequence, or the teacher gives each student a sequence card and has the students arrange themselves in the order of the story's events. Finally, the students retell the story from beginning to end, using as many of the related vocabulary words as possible.

Include Assessment Activities

Assessment is also an important ingredient in the sequence. The fourth or fifth day of story retelling is devoted to extension activities or individual storytelling by the students. For extension activities, the students can make picture books about other things that Leo could do, what they themselves can do now, or what they hope to do soon. They can use emergent writing to label their drawings or pictures. For individual storytelling or individual conferencing, the teacher selects four or five children to retell the story privately to the teacher, teacher assistant, or parent volunteers. The students' responses are recorded and become part of a running record of their speech patterns, comprehension, and other abilities.

CONCLUSION

Through a comprehensive review of effective schools and practices, August and Hakuta (1997) identified the following attributes of success:

> A supportive school-wide climate, school leadership, a customized learning environment, articulation and coordination within and between schools, use of native language and culture in instruction, a balanced curriculum that includes both basic and higher-order skills, explicit skills instruction, opportunities for student-directed instruction, use of instructional strategies that enhance understanding, opportunities for practice, systematic student assessment, staff development, and home and parent involvement. (p. 171)

The two-way immersion program being piloted at Hueco Elementary School is a promising model for bilingual education because it embodies all the elements identified by August and Hakuta. SFA/EPT is a whole-school program that provides materials in Spanish and English, extensive training, and a national network of schools working with English language learners, making it a good base for developing a dual-language program. Hueco Elementary is taking that step—putting the English and Spanish materials into a comprehensive and integrated program in which English-dominant and Spanish-dominant students can become fully proficient and literate in both languages while attaining high levels of academic achievement.

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CONTRIBUTORS

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CHAPTER 4

Strengthening the Transition in Transitional Bilingual Education

William M. Saunders and Claude Goldenberg

INTRODUCTION

By the most conservative estimates, no fewer than 2.8 million children enter U.S. schools speaking little or no English (Crawford, 1997). Many of these students are in some form of *transitional bilingual education* (August & Hakuta, 1997), in which they receive literacy and content area instruction in their first language (L1) while learning to speak and comprehend English as a second language (L2). Once students have acquired a certain level of L1 literacy and adequate listening and speaking skills in English, they make the "transition" to English. In other words, they begin receiving formal instruction in English literacy and other academic subjects in English. The age or grade of the children at transition can vary widely depending upon the program and individual children.

Several types of programs have been designed to address the needs of English learners over the past three decades, most of which vary based on the amount and duration of instruction students receive in their primary language (see Genesee, 1999, for descriptions). At one end of the continuum, students receive no instruction in their primary language: Support is provided through specially designed English instruction. At the other end of the continuum, students receive a true bilingual education: They are taught and learn in their primary language and English at all grades. Transitional bilingual programs fall in the middle of the continuum, using primary language instruction for a period of time, then gradually adding or shifting students to all English instruction.

Although some evidence supports the use of transitional bilingual programs (Krashen & Biber, 1988; Willig, 1985), views about its effects relative to other programming options for English learners vary widely (see Rossell & Baker, 1996, for one perspective; see Thomas & Collier, 1997, for another). Despite the comparative issues, however, among researchers currently studying transitional bilingual education in the United States (Calderón, Hertz-Lazarowitz, & Slavin, 1998; R. Gersten, 1996; Goldenberg, 1996; Krashen, 1996), there is a growing consensus on two matters: (a) The period of transition is pivotal to subsequent achievement; and (b) despite a growing literature that sets forth potential directions, few empirical studies have investigated effective curriculum and pedagogy for the transition period.

Although many educators consider this period a positive indication that English learners are entering the mainstream (Gandara & Merino, 1993), the transition period can be problematic for both students and teachers. If transition is handled too abruptly, subsequent achievement tends to stall or decline (Ramirez, 1992). Even in programs in which transition is handled more gradually, the transition period itself typically involves declines in academic challenge and student participation (Berman et al., 1992). Furthermore, students are more likely to be referred for compensatory or special education during the transition years (R. Gersten, 1996). In sum, transition is a crucial period during which many English learners are especially vulnerable to academic underachievement.

Unfortunately, educators have little research on which to base policy and practice (Goldenberg, 1996). Teachers tend to describe themselves as overwhelmingly uncertain about the appropriate methods to use during transition (Gersten & Woodward, 1994). Even in schools and districts recognized for their exemplary bilingual programs, transition is often a conundrum (Berman et al., 1992). Much of the existing research has focused on the timing and duration of transition (e.g., Ramirez, 1992). With few exceptions (Calderón et al., 1998), less attention has been devoted to empirical studies of effective instruction and curriculum for transition (R. Gersten, 1996).

This chapter reports the results of a long-term effort involving teachers and researchers in southern California, in the United States, to design, implement, and evaluate a transitional bilingual program for Spanish-speaking students. The goal is to improve substantially students' literacy achievement in English and Spanish. The first phase of our work focused on program development and evaluation and involved teams of three to four teachers from each of five schools (Saunders, 1999; Saunders, O'Brien, Lennon, & McLean, 1998). As we developed the program, the case study students moved from one project teacher's classroom to the next and across Grades 2–5 (ages 7–10). The second phase of our work involved several new school sites. The focus was on implementing the program throughout the school.

In this chapter, we describe the context in which the bilingual program takes place and the design, curriculum, outcomes, and distinguishing features of the program. We then offer practical ideas emanating from our work that might be applied to other contexts and situations.

CONTEXT[1]

The schools where we have worked are in two different regions of a large metropolitan school district in southern California, both located in predominantly Latino, Spanish-speaking communities. Although English is obviously the most commonly used language in the broader metropolitan area, in many local communities, like those in which we have worked, Spanish is the predominant language used within the context of small businesses, churches, and family support services, and on popular television and radio stations.

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[1] The project and context described in this chapter changed dramatically after California voters in 1998 approved a change in the California Education Code (known as Proposition 227) that in effect outlawed bilingual education under most circumstances. Although some transitional bilingual education programs exist in California, they are now far less common. The program at Henry Elementary (like virtually every program in the district) became all-English. Because we hope the results of this project will still be informative for those using transitional bilingual education models, we have decided to present this case study intact rather than complicating it by incorporating discussion of the fundamentally changed California context. Readers wishing additional information about Proposition 227 and its early impact are urged to consult Gandara et al. (2000).

In such communities, typically no fewer than 25% of the families are recent arrivals to the United States, immigrating primarily from Mexico but also from Central American countries. Most children (65–80%) speak little or no English at the time they enter school (age 5). The vast majority of the families (80–90%) qualify for free or reduced-cost school lunches, a federal program supporting students from families with income levels at or below the poverty level. Such communities tend to be densely populated. Most families live in crowded, multiple-unit apartment buildings.

Our work has focused exclusively on elementary schools that span kindergarten through fifth grade (ages 5–10). Project schools have utilized transitional bilingual programs as a way of serving the needs of English language learners (students who enter school speaking little or no English).

The general guidelines followed throughout the district for transitional bilingual education programs are as follows. Students are taught literacy/language arts and academic subjects in Spanish while they acquire oral English proficiency (20–45 minutes of daily oral English language development [ELD] instruction). This program continues until students demonstrate approximately second-grade-level proficiency in Spanish reading and writing and basic oral English communicative skills, as measured by district-developed assessments. When students demonstrate these proficiencies, they qualify to transition and begin English reading and writing instruction; they continue receiving Spanish literacy instruction during this period.

According to the district guidelines, the transition period should last approximately 3–6 months and concentrate on nontransferable English skills, vocabulary development, oral and reading comprehension, and written language. During this period other academic subjects, starting with math and then including science and history/social studies, are taught through specially designed academic instruction in English (SDAIE, a set of teaching strategies designed to make concepts and language comprehensible to students).

Subsequent to the transition period, students enter a *mainstream* English program—the same program as native English speakers, without specific accommodation for English learners. Students are officially redesignated from *limited* to *fluent* English proficient (LEP to FEP) when they demonstrate grade-level or close to grade-level reading, writing, and oral language skills on standardized English language achievement tests.

Transitional bilingual education is the most common form of bilingual education for Spanish-speaking English learners in California (but see Footnote 1). At some schools, with relatively small numbers of Spanish-speaking students, the transitional bilingual program operates much like a school within a school. In contrast, at most of the schools where we have worked, Spanish-speaking English learners constitute the vast majority of the student population (70–95%), and transitional bilingual education functions as a schoolwide program.

The academic achievement level at most of our schools is typically low relative to state and national norms. When tested in English in Grades 4 and 5, students have scored substantially below national norms, with schoolwide averages ranging from the 15th to the 25th national percentile in reading and math (the 50th percentile represents the national norm). Even when tested in Spanish in Grades 1 and 2, students tend to score below national norms: Schoolwide averages have ranged from the 30th to the 42nd national percentile (Goldenberg & Gallimore, 1991).

Our work has focused on improving the quality and outcomes of the transitional bilingual program provided in such schools. As part of that effort, we have also concentrated on the overall functioning and effectiveness of the school (see Goldenberg & Sullivan, 1994). In this chapter, we describe the transitional bilingual program we have developed and researched. Outcome data are based on results from one of our case study schools, Henry Elementary (a pseudonym), where we worked with staff for 3 years to implement our transitional program and improve school effectiveness (see Saunders & Goldenberg, 2000).

DESCRIPTION

Multiyear Design for Transition

The multiyear design for transition optimally spans Grades 2–5 (ages 7–10). Grades 2 and 3 are referred to as Pretransition, Grade 4 is Transition I, and Grade 5 is Transition II (see Table 1).

As we began initial work on transitional bilingual programs, two things were apparent: (a) Students were not being effectively prepared to qualify for transition, and (b) the transitional program students received when they did qualify was, at best, underspecified (Saunders, 1999).The concept of a pretransition component is designed to emphasize the fundamental role of Spanish reading and writing and oral English development that precedes transition. Large numbers of students were not

TABLE 1. DESIGN AND GOALS FOR THE MULTIYEAR TRANSITIONAL PROGRAM

Phase	*Optimal Grades (Ages)*	*Goals*	*Measurable Outcome*
	K–1 (5–6)	• Initial reading and writing proficiency (Spanish) • Early production II (oral English)	Existing norm- or criterion-referenced measures
Pretransition	2–3 (7–8)	• Grade-appropriate reading and writing achievement (Spanish) • Speech emergence (oral English)	Criteria for the Addition of Reading in English (district transition instrument)
Transition I	4 (9)	• Initial reading and writing proficiency (English) • Academic oral language proficiency (English) • Grade-appropriate reading and writing achievement (Spanish)	Existing norm- or criterion-referenced measures
Transition II	5 (10)	• Grade-appropriate reading and writing achievement (English)	Redesignation from limited to fluent English proficient

qualifying to enter transition because they were not achieving second-grade-level Spanish literacy skills, and they were not acquiring oral English skills. The understanding we tried to develop at project schools was that problems with the transitional program could not be addressed without devoting serious attention to Spanish literacy and oral English development in the early grades. As part of this effort, we explicitly included Grades 2 and 3 as a pretransition phase in the larger transitional program. The thrust of this phase is intensive Spanish reading and writing instruction and extensive oral English development. The goal of pretransition is to have all students performing at grade level in Spanish reading and writing, and at the speech emergence level (i.e., able to converse) or higher in oral English, by the end of third grade. If the goal is achieved, students should have no problem passing the district assessment to qualify for transition.

The problem with transition itself was that schools grossly underestimated the period of time that should be devoted to it. The district's 3- to 6-month guidelines encouraged schools to think of transition as a relatively short period sandwiched between Spanish and mainstream English language arts, so short as to prohibit any serious attention to curriculum or teacher training.

The concept of Transition I and II was designed to make explicit the need for a concrete transitional program of serious substance and duration. By the end of Transition I, students should be able to decode and demonstrate a basic understanding of end-of-third-grade English reading material (within a year of the students' academic grade). They should also increase their academic oral English language proficiency (intermediate fluency) such that they can participate actively in academically oriented discussions. Finally, students should continue to demonstrate grade-level Spanish reading and writing proficiency. We maintain Spanish literacy instruction throughout the entire year of Transition I to support students' Spanish literacy development and draw clear connections between the processes of reading and writing in Spanish and in English.

By the end of Transition II, students should be decoding and comprehending grade-level material in English and thus be prepared to perform successfully in a mainstream program. During Transition II, teachers encourage students to read and write in Spanish on their own, but language arts instructional time is devoted exclusively to English reading and writing.

Instructional Components for the Language Arts Program

We identified 12 components for language arts instruction that seemed most effective in addressing student needs (see Table 2; for further description of each component see Saunders, 1999). Some of these instructional components were intended specifically to address the needs of transition students, but many stand on their own as effective language arts strategies for the middle and upper elementary grades. We employ this 12-component language arts program across Grades 2–5, in Spanish and then in English, as students move through the three phases of the multiyear transition design: Pretransition, Transition I, and Transition II.

Literature Study Components

The core component of our language arts program is the study of literature. Based on research conducted as part of the Kamehameha Elementary Education Program in

Table 2. Instructional Components of the Language Arts Program for Grades 2–5

Literature Study	*Skill Building*	*Other Supporting Components*
Literature units (experience-text relationship)	Comprehension strategies	Pleasure reading
Literature logs	Assigned independent Reading	Teacher read-alouds
Instructional conversations	Dictation	Interactive journals
Culminating writing projects (writing as a process)	Lessons on written conventions	
	Oral English language development through literature	

Hawaii (Au, 1979, 1992; Tharp & Gallimore, 1988) and Spanish-speaking Latino communities in southern California (Goldenberg, 1992/1993), we adapted the experience-text-relationship approach as our framework for literature units. Through ongoing discussions (instructional conversations), writing activities (literature logs and culminating writing projects), and reading, the teacher helps students study a story in relation to their own experiences and a central theme. Discussions set up writing assignments, and writings inform subsequent discussions throughout the course of the literature unit. Writing provides opportunities for students to articulate ideas, interpretations, and related experiences. Discussions provide opportunities for students and teacher to build more elaborated and sophisticated understandings.

Literature units culminate with a written project that serves two goals: (a) developing a deeper understanding of some aspect of the unit (e.g., content, themes, related personal experiences) and (b) developing a high-quality piece of writing. Teachers teach writing as a process in the course of these culminating projects. Students share drafts, receive feedback from peers, conference with the teacher, and revise and edit their work. They also receive lessons from the teacher that are specific to the kind of writing involved in the project (e.g., narration, information, persuasion).

We assume that through this recurrent process of individual and social discourse—reading, writing, and discussing—literature units help students learn to comprehend text, make connections between the text and their own lives, and develop more fully formed concepts. We also assume that literature units help provide substantial comprehensible input—language that is at a somewhat higher level than the learners can understand on their own but that is understandable within the total context in which it is used. The literature unit thus becomes a meaningful social context in which words, phrases, language structures, and concepts are used, acquired, and learned, thereby promoting L2 (English) development (Cummins, 1989; Krashen, 1987; see Saunders et al., 1998, for a detailed explanation of our approach to literature).

Skill-Building Components

As we found throughout our work, literature study needs to be complemented by additional skill-building components. Students need direct instruction in specific reading comprehension strategies (e.g., predicting, summarizing, questioning), and they need daily opportunities to read texts geared to their reading level—that is, assigned independent reading. Comprehension strategies are presented in 2-week modules in the first and fourth quarters of the year. Assigned independent reading is completed on a weekly basis throughout the year. Ideally, this reading includes materials related to the literature unit, but teachers have used grade-specific anthologies or other published reading comprehension materials (e.g., Parker, 1969) to ensure that students have materials they can read independently and use to practice comprehension strategies. Students need similar study and practice for written language. As part of the weekly dictation program, students study a short but carefully targeted passage. The teacher provides lessons on specific conventions (e.g., punctuation, capitalization, grammar), and students practice writing the passage as it is dictated to them by a peer or parent, compose original sentences and paragraphs that include the target conventions, and study words from the passage they have difficulty spelling.

ELD Through Literature (developed by project consultants Dolores Beltran and Gisela O'Brien; see Beltran & O'Brien, 1993) is a daily, 45-minute oral English program used in the pretransition phases of the program. Instruction is delivered to students in small, homogeneous groups based on proficiency level. Lessons and independent activities are all drawn from a particular literature selection. The lesson's focus and teacher's talk are geared specifically to students' proficiency level. Literature seems to provide a meaningful and motivating context for learning and practicing targeted English oral language skills. It also exposes children to English print well in advance of formal transition to English. ELD Through Literature is an integral part of our pretransitional program (Grades 2 and 3).

Other Supporting Components

In all grades, teachers read to students for approximately 20 minutes at least three times per week. Teacher read-alouds expose students to the language of expert writers and the fluency of an expert reader, engage students in material they may not yet be able to read on their own, and introduce students to new authors and genres. In addition, a portion of time each day is devoted to reading for pleasure. Students choose their own books and stories, keep records of their reading, and, for those books they find most interesting, complete short assignments (e.g., summaries, synopsis, oral presentations, drawings). Finally, many Transition I teachers use interactive journals during the first half of the year, when students are making their first attempts at English writing.

Program Outcomes

Longitudinal evaluations conducted during the initial phase of our work, as the program was being developed, indicated that the program was significantly more effective than programs students typically received (Saunders, 1999). In comparison to a matched sample of comparable students from neighboring schools in the district, project students (a) scored significantly higher on both standardized and performance-based measures of Spanish literacy in Grade 3 and English literacy in Grade 5; (b) were more likely to be reclassified as FEP by the end of Grade 5; and (c) were significantly more likely to report frequent independent reading, use of the public library, and more positive attitudes toward their L1.

As part of our work at Henry Elementary, we have been attempting to implement the program and replicate effects schoolwide. To gauge the effects of the transitional program on students, we collected outcome data at baseline and across the 3 years of the project at Henry and three neighboring, comparable schools. Data from random samples of second and fifth graders included standardized test scores, performance assessments, bilingual program assessments, and attitude surveys. Second-grade results for baseline and Years 1 and 2 provide an indication of improvements in the Spanish literacy portion of the program, Pretransition. Fifth-grade results for baseline and Years 1–3 provide an indication of improvements in the English literacy portion of the program, Transition I and II. (Note that Year 3 data are not available for second graders.)

Table 3 shows Spanish literacy results for random samples of second graders (age 7). Across Years 1 and 2, standardized test results for Spanish reading and language increased from baseline substantially, rising from the 38th to the 69th percentile in reading and from the 47th to the 64th in language. Year 2 levels were well above those for similar students from comparable schools taken the same year: the 41st percentile in reading and the 37th in language, respectively.

Performance assessments conducted in Spanish across Years 1 and 2 also showed a steady increase in the numbers of second graders who demonstrated grade-level or close to grade-level achievement on all tasks. Performance assessments were scored on a 5-point scale as follows: 5, above grade-level performance; 4, grade-level performance; 3, close to grade-level performance; and 2 and 1, below grade-

TABLE 3. SPANISH LITERACY OUTCOMES FOR SECOND GRADERS

	Henry Elementary			***Comparable Schools***
Indicator	***Baseline (n = 13)***	***Year 1 (n = 16)***	***Year 2 (n = 16)***	***Year 2 (n = 41)***
Standardized tests				
Reading				
NCE[a] mean	43.22	53.12	60.34	45.27
SD	24.12	25.40	19.34	13.94
Percentile rank	38	56	69	41
Language				
NCE mean	48.61	58.83	57.54	43.24
SD	19.41	29.97	20.28	15.75
Percentile rank	47	66	64	37
Performance assessment				
% averaging ≥ 3.00	8	29	38	11
Independent reading				
% listing ≥ 10 items	23	28	44	22

Note. Based on annual random samples of English learners.

[a] Normal curve equivalent

level performance. At baseline, only 8% of the Henry sample averaged a score of 3 or better on all performance assessment tasks. The percentage rose to 28% in the Year 1 sample and 38% in the Year 2 sample. Year 2 levels were again well above those for students from comparable schools, where only 11% averaged a score of 3 or better. Results also showed a modest increase among Henry second graders in independent reading. The number of students listing 10 or more books and stories they had read on their own over the course of the year improved from 23% at baseline to 44% in Year 2, twice as high as the percentage among comparable students in the Year 2 sample (22%).

Table 4 includes results for random samples of fifth-grade students (age 10) based on English language standardized and performance based measures. (Standardized testing results are not listed for the baseline year because they were based

TABLE 4. ENGLISH LITERACY OUTCOMES FOR FIFTH GRADERS

	Henry Elementary				*Comparable Schools*	
Indicator	*Baseline (n = 20)*	*Year 1 (n = 17)*	*Year 2 (n = 20)*	*Year 3 (n = 20)*	*Year 2 (n = 53)*	*Year 3 (n = 56)*
Standardized tests						
Reading						
NCE[a] mean		28.82	34.18	37.30	29.91	32.92
SD		23.55	16.13	17.52	16.01	14.19
Percentile rank		16	22	27	17	21
Language						
NCE mean		34.88	41.37	43.16	34.14	37.04
SD		19.12	15.01	18.29	18.24	18.62
Percentile rank		24	34	37	23	27
Performance assessment						
% averaging ≥ 3.00	15	19	32	35	14	7
Independent reading						
% listing ≥ 10 items	15	24	28	30	9	13
Literacy attitudes (%)						
Like reading and writing in Spanish	58		59	85	51	56
Continue reading and writing in Spanish	53		59	85	56	43
Like reading and writing in English	80		84	95	91	95
Continue reading and writing in English	89		100	100	92	93

Note. Based on annual random samples of English learners.

[a] Normal curve equivalent

on a different test.) Standardized tests showed an 11-point improvement across Years 1, 2, and 3 in reading (16th, 22nd, and 27th percentiles) and a 13-point increase in language (24th, 34th, and 37th percentiles). Results for the comparable schools taken in Years 2 and 3 showed modest increases: from the 17th to the 21st percentile in reading and from the 23rd to the 27th percentile in language. Year 3 comparisons showed Henry's students performing somewhat better than students from the comparable schools: in reading, 27th versus 21st; in language, 37th versus 27th.

The 4 years of performance assessment results show a steady increase in the percentage of Henry fifth graders demonstrating grade-level or close to grade-level achievement: from 15% at baseline to 35% in Year 3. Year 2 and 3 results for students from the comparable schools were similar to those of Henry at baseline: 14% and 7%. The pattern is much the same for independent reading. At baseline, 15% of the fifth-grade Henry sample listed 10 or more books or stories. By Year 3, the figure had risen to 30%. Year 2 and 3 percentages for students from comparable schools were 9% and 13%.

For students from both Henry and comparable schools, attitudes toward reading and writing in English were uniformly positive. Between 80% and 100% of the students said they liked reading and writing in English and wanted to continue to learn how to read and write better in English. However, the Year 3 results for Henry showed a marked increase in the percentage of students reporting positive attitudes toward Spanish literacy. Whereas in Year 2 only about one half of Henry's students expressed positive attitudes toward reading and writing in Spanish, in Year 3, 85% said they liked reading and writing in Spanish and wanted to continue learning how to read and write better in Spanish. In contrast, in both Years 2 and 3 only about half of the comparison students expressed positive attitudes toward Spanish literacy.

Additional schoolwide data also suggest an improved transitional bilingual program. The annual percentage of English learners in Grade 5 who passed the transition assessment by the end of third grade increased with each successive Henry cohort: 45% at baseline, 53% in Year 1, and 65% in Years 2 and 3. In comparison, among the Year 2 and 3 fifth graders at the comparable schools, the percentages of students passing the assessment were 41% and 47%. In addition, the annual percentage of students redesignated from LEP to FEP by fifth grade increased with each successive cohort at Henry, from 24% at baseline to 38% in Year 3. Year 2 and 3 averages for the comparable schools were 26% and 23%, respectively.

Overall, the results show a pattern of improved literacy outcomes at Henry Elementary. In both grades, Henry students are performing well above comparable students at neighboring schools. A clearer indication of the total effect of the program will be evident among the cohorts of students in the fifth-grade samples in Years 4 and 5. These cohorts will include students who participated in all phases of the program: Pretransition (Grades 2 and 3), Transition I, and Transition II.

The results for subsequent samples of fifth graders will be analyzed carefully. The levels of English achievement produced thus far, albeit with students who have not yet participated in all phases of the program, suggest that there is still much work to be done. Scoring at the 27th or the 34th percentile still puts students well below national norms. Similarly, performance assessments, even in Year 3, showed only 35% of students demonstrating grade-level or close to grade-level achievement.

One final aspect of our program deserves explanation. The explicit goal typically associated with transitional bilingual education, including our program, is English literacy (i.e., L2 literacy)—not bilingualism and biliteracy. Although we found that students in the program demonstrated significantly higher levels of Spanish literacy than matched controls did (Saunders, 1999), these results are only an indication of the stability of skills acquired in the earlier phases of our transitional program. Ongoing biliteracy development, we believe, requires a true bilingual program: L1 and L2 curriculum, instruction, and ongoing evaluation. Ultimately, we think the interests of all students, English learners and English speakers, are better served in programs such as these, which promote language and literacy development in two or more languages, as described in other chapters in this volume.

DISTINGUISHING FEATURES

Four theoretical principles undergird the program: challenge, continuity, connections, and comprehensiveness. Each represents a condition for language and literacy learning that we think are central to effective transitional bilingual programs. They are also grounded in the research literature, specifically studies that have tried to identify the characteristics of more and less successful programs for English learners (Berman et al., 1992; Garcia, 1992; Gersten & Jiménez, 1993; Goldenberg, 1990; Ramirez, 1992; Thomas & Collier, 1997). In this section, we discuss these four principles and how they are manifested in our program.

Challenge and the Study of Literature in Depth

We have tried to design a program that consistently challenges students academically—challenges them to think, learn, and engage intellectually. Within the context of the language arts program, we have tried to elaborate and instantiate the challenge principle most directly through the teaching of literature. In some cases, teachers and their students study novels. In other cases, they study short stories from grade-level reading anthologies. In either case, students study the work in depth over an extended period (6–8 weeks).

This practice is a fairly sharp departure from most reading programs designed for students in transition, which typically take a more linguistic or phonological approach. Such programs typically prescribe approximately a story a week, and students move successively across texts featuring increasingly challenging English phonological patterns, vocabulary, and sentence structures. While attending to the linguistic appropriateness of the reading matter, we have given equal emphasis to the content and themes of the stories and their potential intellectual challenge for students. We try to address students' need for additional and appropriately challenging reading experiences through assigned independent reading and pleasure reading (described earlier).

Continuity and the Language Arts Program

We have concentrated heavily on achieving continuity in curriculum and instruction as students move from the primary, to the middle, to the upper grades and from L1 to L2 language arts. We have tried to address continuity through our 12-component language arts program, which we employ across Grades 2–5 as students move from predominantly Spanish to English instruction. In all program grades, instruction includes literature units, instructional conversation, literature logs, assigned independent reading, comprehension strategies, pleasure reading, writing projects, dictation, and conventions lessons.

Program teachers report that this program has been extremely beneficial. As students transition to English reading and writing, they essentially engage in the same kinds of instruction and activities as they did in Spanish. Students have a fairly clear sense of what they are expected to do when they participate in any of the 12 program components. As we have observed and teachers report, this continuity reduces students' anxiety about the transition to English and provides support for their initial efforts to read and write in English (see Calderon et al., 1998, for similar emphasis on continuity).

Connections and Small-Group Instruction

Through specific pedagogy and classroom organization, we place a strong emphasis on building upon students' existing knowledge, skills, and experiences and making explicit connections to the academic curriculum to be learned (including language, literacy, and content). Through literature logs, students consistently have the opportunity to write about, share, and connect their own experiences with the literature they are studying. Moreover, transition teachers make an effort to connect and build on the literature studies students engage in during Pretransition: Themes students studied when reading a story written in Spanish are revisited when they read a story written in English. Transition teachers also make explicit efforts to connect and build on the same strategies to which students have been introduced during Pretransition in order to help students recognize the commonalities of reading and writing in Spanish and in English.

We also try to address the connections principle through small-group instruction, which is the basic classroom organization through which students study literature and receive English language development instruction. We have utilized small-group instruction to maximize individual student participation. This arrangement provides increasing opportunities for students to produce language, engage in discussions, and receive direct support from the teacher. Within such small-group contexts, the teacher's role is help students elaborate thoughts and language and make connections they might not otherwise make.

Comprehensiveness and Multiple Literacy Outcomes

We have tried to design a program that addresses both meaning and skills, both higher level thinking and appropriate drill and practice, and provides complementary portions of student- and teacher-centeredness. Teachers and students engage in a wide variety of academic and literacy-related activities. Teachers lead discussions and conduct directed lessons, facilitate group work and conference with individual students, demonstrate strategies and correct exercises. Students read for pleasure and read on assignment, develop written projects and do dictation, participate in literary discussions and receive formal lessons.

This comprehensive approach is reflected in the literacy outcomes we evaluate and strive to achieve, including demonstrating mastery of discrete reading and language skills on standardized, multiple-choice, timed tests; utilizing broader literacy competencies on more extended reading and writing performance assessment tasks; and forming healthy literacy-related habits and attitudes, such as frequent, self-selected independent reading and positive perceptions of students' own bilingualism and biliteracy.

PRACTICAL IDEAS

The program described in this chapter comprises 12 language arts components organized into a multiyear design for transition. Evaluation results suggest that the program produces outcomes superior to those achieved by the transitional program students typically receive in southern California schools. Without adopting our specific program, however, schools can likely improve the quality and outcomes of their transitional bilingual programs, and perhaps other forms of bilingual education, by focusing attention on six key areas. Our premise is that the effectiveness of a transitional bilingual program is based on the individual effectiveness and careful coordination of its various elements.

Emphasize the Achievement of L1 Literacy in the Early Grades

In a transitional bilingual program, a fundamental goal in Grades 1–3 must be teaching English learners to read and write well in their L1. Providing primary language instruction during the early grades is a worthwhile way to support students' entry to school. But the short-term language accommodation is not nearly as important as the longer term matter of students' actual academic achievement. High levels of achievement in L1 literacy often facilitate subsequent English literacy learning. Moreover, students who do well academically in the earlier grades tend to do well in the later grades. Early academic success is imperative.

Emphasize the Achievement of Oral L2 Proficiency in the Early Grades

By design, students in transitional bilingual programs receive language arts and content area instruction in the L1 while learning to speak and comprehend the L2. As we have observed in countless schools, however, oral ELD often is neglected. First, it competes for time with other curricular areas taught in the L1, such as language arts, math, science, and social studies. Second, even when time is devoted to ELD, it is easy to assume that students are acquiring English simply because the teacher spends some portion of the day speaking in English. In fact, students benefit the most when teachers spend a portion of the day actually teaching English: targeting interactions and instruction on specific vocabulary and language structures appropriate to students' level of ELD.

Establish the Means to Identify Students Prepared to Add Transitional Language Arts

A core premise of transitional bilingual education is that, at some point, students reach a threshold and develop sufficient oral L2 proficiency and L1 literacy to make a successful transition to L2 literacy instruction. Transitional bilingual programs should have criteria and an instrument for identifying students prepared to add transitional language arts (i.e., English reading and writing instruction). There are different views on how rigorous those criteria should be. The criterion we set was approximately a third-grade reading level in the L1 and conversational proficiency in the L2 (English). A school might choose more or less rigorous criteria, but the more important matter is that the criteria are set and measured. Such criteria support the two practical ideas discussed above: They function as L1 literacy and oral L2 proficiency goals or benchmarks for teachers to target and achieve in the early grades.

Establish a Transitional Language Arts Program

In many schools in California, the period of transition itself is sorely neglected, often because it is not well understood. Many times, new and inexperienced teachers are assigned transition classes and left to their own devices in determining what to teach and how to teach it. We strongly recommend that schools devote careful attention to transitional language arts curriculum, assessments, and staffing. A transitional language arts program should include a coherent sequence of goals and objectives, guidelines for the teacher, interesting reading material that provides appropriate and increasingly challenging written texts, and specific assessments teachers can use to gauge how students are progressing.

Continue to Teach and Promote L1 Literacy During Transition

In our project, we try to sustain L1 literacy instruction throughout the first year of transition (Transition I). During both the first and the second years of transition (Transition I and II), we encourage students to continue using their Spanish literacy skills. To the extent possible, we stock classrooms with Spanish and English reading material and textbooks. Teachers encourage students to choose English and Spanish language books for pleasure reading. They also show students how to use Spanish language textbooks to supplement their learning from English language textbooks (e.g., in history and social studies).

Students from our program, in contrast to comparable students not in our program, maintained positive attitudes toward their L1 across the transition years. Such attitudes might influence students' subsequent achievement. Thus, schools should carefully consider resources and practices they can deploy in order at least to encourage and facilitate students' continued engagement in L1 literacy.

Establish the Means to Identify Students Prepared for Mainstream Language Arts

In most schools and districts in California and throughout the United States, the issue of moving students into the mainstream program is extremely problematic. Few schools have clear criteria or instruments to identify students prepared for mainstream programming, wherein they no longer receive support and accommodations afforded English learners. Typically, students are placed in mainstream programs some time after they have made the transition. In the worst-case scenario, the mainstream program is the transitional program.

We strongly recommend that schools examine what, if any, criteria they are using to place students in mainstream instruction. Typically, schools in the United States are under substantial political pressure to move English learners into the mainstream. As a result, they often do not use L2 literacy achievement criteria to identify students prepared for mainstream instruction because often large numbers of students do not meet the criteria. Unfortunately, such practices tend to leave program improvement unattended. In contrast, establishing and using mainstreaming criteria serves to draw attention to program effectiveness. If, for example, large numbers of students are not meeting the mainstream criteria, the transitional bilingual program, including every element addressed above, needs serious attention and improvement.

CONCLUSION

For most of the 1980s and 1990s, transitional bilingual education existed in California schools in order to accommodate the needs of English learners and provide them with equal educational opportunity. Some schools scattered throughout the state established bilingual programming in order to explicitly promote biliteracy for English learners and for native English speakers learning other languages. Although in our view such an approach is far preferable to a transitional approach, in which the primary language is used only as a bridge to English proficiency, such programs are relatively rare. Far more common are schools and districts that established and maintained bilingual programming under the assumption that it provides, relative to English-only programming, a better opportunity for English learners to succeed in school and ultimately learn English.

Analysts at the two ends of the bilingual education continuum have expressed skepticism about transitional programs. According to opponents of bilingual education (e.g., Rossell & Baker, 1996), transitional programs simply delay children's development of English language skills and their entry into the English mainstream. Among proponents of bilingual education, transitional programs are inadequate half-measures, better than all-English immersion but inferior to bilingual education that is truly bilingual—that is, in which the goal is for children to learn and be competent in both English and their home language (Thomas & Collier, 1997).

In any event, and whatever their virtues or shortcomings, this much is clear: Transitional programs can work only if there are well-articulated and implemented practices and procedures to help English learners acquire critical knowledge, skills, and dispositions as they progress through their school careers. Much remains to be done if these students are to receive the opportunities they need to achieve at adequate academic levels. Nonetheless, the transitional program described here represents one effort to move transitional bilingual programming in this direction.

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CHAPTER 5

Trilingual Schools in the Ladin Valleys of South Tyrol, Italy

Kurt Egger and Margareth Lardschneider McLean

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, we describe a trilingual school program that has existed in the Ladin Valleys of South Tyrol in northern Italy for 50 years. The salient geographic feature of the region, the Dolomite mountains, provides an alpine backdrop for the five valleys in which the Dolomitic Ladin dialects are spoken: Gherdëina/Gardena/Groden, Badia/Badia/Gadertal, Ampez/Ampezzo/Ampezzo, Fascia/Fassa/Fassa, and Fodom/Livinallongo/Buchenstein (see Figure 1).[1]

We focus our discussion on two valleys, Gherdeina and Badia, which are part of the Autonomous Province of Bolzano/Bozen, Italy. This province has many special rights within the Italian Republic that provide for the maintenance of both the German and, in a minor way, the Ladin cultural minorities. Especially important for the Ladin minority is the official recognition of the Ladin language for administrative and educational purposes.

CONTEXT

The distinctive features of the region's history and linguistic development have resulted in an important role for Ladin in the so-called *paritetic* (parity) school system, which allows German and Italian to be used equally as languages of instruction in Gherdeina and Badia.

Historical

The Dolomite region was conquered by the Roman legions under Tiberius and Drusus and was linguistically Romanized from 15 BC onward. Invasions by the Baiuvarii from the north around 600 AD brought a gradual Germanization of the area south of the Brenner Pass, with the result that German eventually came to surround the five Ladin Valleys. This period of Romanization and later Germanization created a multilingual culture that persists to the present day in South Tyrol.

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[1] Geographic place names in this region are often given in the three languages spoken there: Ladin, Italian, and German (e.g., Gherdeina/Gardena/Groden). Hereafter in this chapter, we use only the Ladin place names (the first names presented above).

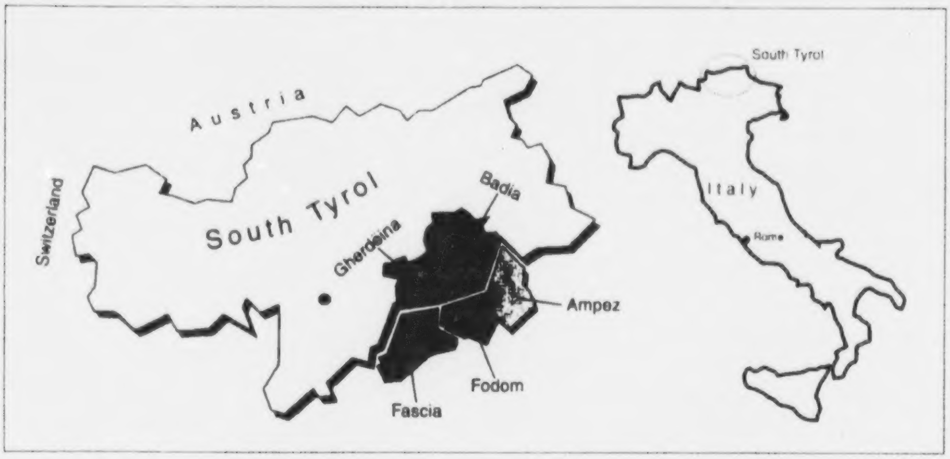

FIGURE 1. The Ladin Valleys in the Dolomites

By the ninth century, the three regions where the Rhaeto-Romance dialects were spoken fell under the hegemony of three different German tribes: the Alemanni/Franks in Switzerland, the Baiuvarii in the Dolomite region, and the Langobardi in Friul. The regions were unified under a single government for a short period under the Carolingian kings (800–843 AD). Beginning in the 11th century, the Ladin Valleys of the Dolomites belonged to the administration of the newly created bishopric of Bressanone/Brixen. In the 13th century, the territory of Gherdeina passed to the Grafschaft of Tyrol, and in 1363 the entire Dolomite-Ladin territory was controlled by the Hapsburg dynasty and empire.

Large-scale geopolitical changes in Europe from 1000 to 1800 did not have a significant effect on the Ladin-speaking region. Most owners of the Ladin territories were German-speaking feudal administrators. The history of the Dolomite-Ladin areas during this period is closely connected with the history of the Catholic Church and its orientation toward German regions to the north (Saben, Bressanone/Brixen, and Tyrol).

At the beginning of the 19th century, the Ladin Valleys were subdivided and came under various administrative jurisdictions: Ampez, Fodom, and Fascia passed to the Italian Empire by Napoleonic decree while Gherdeina and Badia remained with Bavaria. In 1813, all of the Ladin Valleys were again placed under the control of the Austrian Empire. Shortly thereafter, Fascia was put under the administration of Trento, and in 1818 Fascia and Gherdeina were also connected with the diocese of Trento. Despite these religious-governmental changes, the Dolomite Ladins remained loyal to the Hapsburg monarchy until 1919. By then, there were signs of a separate and growing Ladin identity. For example, in 1833, Nikolaus Bacher proposed the creation of a standard written language for the five Ladin varieties (see Craffonara, 1994); in 1878, the first book written in Ladin was published; and in 1905 Ladin students founded the *Uniun ladina* (Ladin Student Association) at the University of Innsbruck, Austria.

After World War I, the Ladin Valleys were annexed to Italy and divided into three administrative units: Badia and Gherdeina came to the province of Bolzano/Bozen (1927), Ampez and Fodom came to Belluno (1923), and Fascia stayed in the province of Trento. This political division continues to the present. There was a heavy Italianization campaign during the period of Fascist rule in Italy (1922–1943). After World War II, South Tyrol was reestablished as a province of Italy, but the 1946 Treaty of Paris made no mention of Ladins. In 1948, Ladins were officially recognized as an ethnic group distinct from Italian and German speakers. German and Italian were introduced as languages of instruction in the public schools in Gherdeina and Badia (the so-called paritetic system), and Ladin language instruction was added to the school curriculum.

The size of the Ladin population has varied little over the years (see Table 1). The reported number of German speakers declined in 1921 because the census excluded all those who opted for Austrian citizenship after annexation even if they still lived in South Tyrol. The changes in the percentage of German and Italian speakers between 1921 and 1961 were due to the influx of Italian speakers from other Italian provinces. During the Fascist period (1922–1943), the government made systematic attempts to reduce the influence of the German language and culture in South Tyrol through in-migration of Italian speakers, suppression of German in public and the schools, and alteration of geographic place names.

Present

Trilingual education in the Ladin Valleys of the Bolzano/Bozen province currently takes place within a distinctive legal, linguistic, and sociolinguistic context.

Legal

The Statute of Autonomy (Article 102, 1) provides the Ladin people with the right to conduct their own cultural activities through print media and leisure activities, and to maintain their unique geographic names and cultural traditions. Ladin must also be used in public administration and court proceedings; for example, Article 574 of the Decree of the President of the Italian Republic (1989) states, "Public administrators in public office are obliged to use Ladin when answering in oral form, and Italian and German followed by a Ladin translation when a written form is required" (No. 105, Article 32).

TABLE 1. RESIDENT POPULATION OF SOUTH TYROL BY LINGUISTIC GROUP, 1910–1991

	Linguistic Group									
	Italian		*German*		*Ladin*		*Other*		*Total*	
Year[a]	***No.***	***%***	***No.***	***%***	***No.***	***%***	***No.***	***%***	***No.***	***%***
1910	7,330	2.9	223,913	89.0	9,429	3.8	10,770	4.3	251,451	100.0
1921	27,048	10.6	193,271	75.9	9,910	3.9	24,506	9.6	254,735	100.0
1961	128,271	34.3	232,717	62.2	12,594	3.7	281	0.1	373,863	100.0
1991	116,941	26.5	287,503	65.3	18,434	4.2	17,657	4.0	440,508	100.0

Source: ASTAT (1998, p. 108).

[a] The Austrian government collected census information before 1919; the Italian state has done so since 1921.

Linguistic

The name *Ladin* has its origin in Latin (*Latinu*) and is one of the standard denominations for a group of Romance dialects that share a number of linguistic features and a history of a Ladin identity, distinct from German or Italian. There has been a longstanding and heated debate among scholars over the so-called Ladin question: Are the Ladin dialects spoken in the regions of Grison, the Dolomites, and Friul the residue of a larger autonomous linguistic entity that was split into three areas by German or Italian cultural advances, or are they remnants of a northern Italian linguistic group that survived in relatively isolated geographical regions? More simply, do the Ladin dialects share enough features to be considered a separate language group, or are they part of a larger linguistic entity that also includes the northern Italian dialects? Ascoli (1873) contended that Ladin is a distinct language with unique features; his opponents (primarily Italian linguists, e.g., Kramer, 1989; Pellegrini, 1986) have attempted to demonstrate that Ladin is a dialect of Italian. The Ladin question is not only about linguistic features; it is also about the sociocultural history, politics, and identification of Ladin speakers.

Ladin is based on Latin. Some features of Ladin are more linguistically conservative than their Italian equivalents (e.g., the retention of word-final -s; see the left panel of Table 2). Another noteworthy characteristic of the Ladin lexicon is the presence of many old and new German borrowings (see the right panel of Table 2). Many of these have become completely or partially assimilated. In many cases, the German origin is not always clear even to most Ladin speakers. Many expressions and verb + particle constructions are German calque translations, such as *do su* (German: *aufgeben*, give up) and *udei danora* (German: *voraussehen*, foresee).

The Gherdeina dialect of Ladin, Italian, and German are in constant interaction and therefore influence each other in many ways. Ladin influences on German and Italian are seen as errors, but German and Italian influences on Ladin are tolerated and accepted as a result of the high prestige and utility of these majority languages. An example of these German and Italian influences is given below.

Ladin:	I kindri dl asilo
German:	die Kinder vom Kindergarten
Italian:	bambini dell' asilo
English:	the children of the kindergarten

TABLE 2. CHARACTERISTICS OF LADIN

Retention of Word-Final -s				Borrowings From German		
Latin	***Ladin***	***Italian***	***English***	***Ladin***	***German***	***English***
cane	cian	cane	dog	arpe	erben	inherit
canes	cians	cani	dogs	codla	Kugel	ball
plenus	plen	pieno	full	fana	Pfanne	pan
lingua	lenga	lingua	tongue			
portas	tu portes	tu porti	you carry			

Ladin is used primarily as a spoken language in informal contexts—with family, friends, and neighbors and in public places. The use of language in the family is often cited as one of the most influential factors in language maintenance. In Vittur's (1990) questionnaire survey of the families of primary school children in the Ladin Valleys, 60.0% of the responding families in Gherdeina and 93.1% of the responding families in Badia reported speaking Ladin in the family (see Table 3). German is an important language for families in these areas. Finally, there is evidence that bilingualism (and to a lesser extent trilingualism) is experienced at an early age, even in the household.

Ladin is the language of everyday life almost exclusively in Badia and at an increasing rate in Gherdeina. The growing prestige of the Ladin language motivates people to use it increasingly in both private and official situations; for example, it is not uncommon to find greeting cards and printed notices in Ladin. People speak Ladin more and more openly in public places, even in the presence of non-Ladin speakers. The establishment in 1988 of Ladin as an official language and of the right of people to use Ladin in all contexts of public life in the Ladin Valleys was a turning point in self-awareness among the Ladin people and led to systematic efforts to further the development of the language (Lardschneider McLean, 1994). Videsott (1998) has pointed out, for example, that the development of a technical language has been an important result of these political events.

Finally, Ladin, in contrast to earlier times, is being used increasingly in the Catholic Church (La Diozeja de Bulsan-Persenon, 1998). In Badia, but less so in Gherdeina, Ladin is now used frequently in church services. In addition, the Diocese

TABLE 3. LANGUAGE USE IN LADIN FAMILIES OF PRIMARY SCHOOL CHILDREN IN THE LADIN VALLEYS (%)

	Region	
Languages Spoken	***Gherdëina***[a]	***Badia***[b]
One language		
Ladin	42.4	78.5
German	32.9	4.3
Italian	4.1	1.6
Total	79.4	84.4
Two languages		
Ladin/German	15.1	10.4
Ladin/Italian	1.9	3.2
German/Italian	2.3	0.0
Total	19.3	13.6
Three languages		
Ladin/German/Italian	0.6	1.2

Source: Vittur (1990). Response rate was 97.5%.
[a]516 respondents. [b]692 respondents.

of Bolzano-Bressanone has recognized Ladin: "The faithful followers have the right to pray and to celebrate their liturgy in their mother tongue" (Egger, 1997, p. 49).

Although the adoption of Ladin as the third official language in this region of Italy (along with German and Italian) speaks to the need for a common or standard (written) form of the language, a standard variety has not been yet been adopted in the Ladin Valleys. There are several reasons for this: important differences in pronunciation and lexicon from valley to valley, the lack of a political and cultural center that would legitimize and give currency to a standard form, the absence of prestigious writers, the tradition of multilingualism, the low prestige of the spoken dialects, and the rural character of the region. Moreover, the creation of an artificial, common variety of Ladin is perceived as a danger to the spoken language. At present, most Ladin speakers do not see codification of the existing varieties into one standard system as a necessity. Nevertheless, there has recently been a renewed attempt to establish a standard written language. This project is referred to as *SPELL* (*Servisc de planificazion y elaborazion dl lingaz Ladin* [Service for the planning and elaboration of the Ladin language], Videsott, 1998).

DESCRIPTION

The Paritetic System

As noted, the school system in the Ladin Valleys is trilingual. German and Italian are used equally as the main languages of academic instruction. Thus, these schools (serving 2,681 students in 1997–1998; see Table 4) are referred to as *paritetic* (parity) schools (*scuola paritetica* in Italian; *paritätische Schule* in German). Ladin is used as an auxiliary (or vehicular) language—that is, teachers and students use it for clarification if there are communication difficulties during Italian and German instructional times, especially in the primary grades. Ladin language arts are also taught starting in Grade 3 of primary school, but Ladin is never used for instruction in academic content. In contrast to families in the Ladin Valleys, who must send their children to a trilingual school, German- and Italian-speaking families in other regions of South Tyrol can choose between schools with instruction in German and schools with instruction in Italian.

The paritetic system was a compromise agreed upon in 1948 in response to a variety of conflicting demands. First, the Ladin Valleys are part of the Italian state, which demanded academic instruction in Italian in public schools. At the same time, German had been the traditional language of schooling in the Ladin Valleys (Rifesser, 1995), creating a demand for continued use of German in school. Moreover, most

TABLE 4. ENROLLMENT IN SCHOOLS IN THE LADIN VALLEYS, 1997–1998

Level	*Age (Years)*	*No. of Students*	*No. of Classes*
Kindergarten	3–5	600	31
Primary school	6–11	1,150	101
Middle school	12–14	581	35
High School	15–19	350	25

Source: ASTAT (1998, pp. 141–146)

Ladins identified themselves historically and politically with the German-language culture of Tyrol even though they remained a cultural minority within the Italian state. Other Ladin speakers' political orientations and cultural affiliations tied them to the Italian state and language. The paritetic school system was devised out of respect to these divergent leanings as a means of coalescing support for the Ladin language among all Ladin speakers. A fundamental assumption of this system is that equal use of German and Italian will ensure greater protection of Ladin because both groups of Ladin speakers are respected; in other words, balancing the role of the two more powerful languages would appease all Ladin speakers.

Ladin schools are similar to German and Italian schools in organization. A principal manages the day-to-day operation of the school, and a school board provides general oversight and develops policy for the schools. A pedagogical institute (Istitut Pedagogich Ladin, 1995) is responsible for the in-service development of teachers, program development and innovation, and educational research.

The needs and future goals of the students have played a significant role in the shaping of trilingual schools of the Ladin Valleys:

- The students are educated so that they can maintain the cultural heritage of the Ladin Valleys and understand and appreciate the unique character of their trilingual society.
- The students are prepared to attend university or vocational and technical high schools, if they choose to do so, outside the Ladin Valleys. This means that they have to choose between a German or Italian language school if they desire education beyond the middle school level.
- Many students choose to enter occupations related to tourism, commerce, or the public services, in which proficiency in German and Italian along with their native Ladin is required.

Language Use in the Paritetic Schools

The concept of parity that provides the philosophical basis for schools in the Ladin Valleys is most evident in the scheduling of the languages and the ways in which they are used to teach academic subjects at each level of schooling—primary, middle, and high school. Kindergarten has the specific duty of promoting Ladin, the students' native language (see Table 5). The introduction to the official kindergarten curriculum states, "In kindergarten of the Ladin Valleys the most widely spoken language is Ladin" ("Urientamenc per l'educazion," 1989). This is accomplished by using Ladin

TABLE 5. LANGUAGE USE IN PRIMARY SCHOOL (HOURS PER WEEK)

			Ladin	
Level	*German*	*Italian*	*Language Arts*	*As Auxiliary Language*
1, 2	21.0 + 6.0			6.0
3	12.5	12.5	2.0	
4	12.5	12.5	2.0	
5	12.5	12.5	2.0	

Source: Rifesser (1995, p. 121)

as an auxiliary language when instruction takes place through the medium of the other languages, as noted.

Because of the difficulties the students are likely to encounter if faced with two second languages (Italian and German) from the beginning, in the first two levels of primary school (ages 6–7), parents choose either German-Ladin or Italian-Ladin classes for their children. In the German-Ladin classes, German is the main language of instruction (21 hours per week); the children have 1 hour every day (6 hours per week) of conversation in Italian. In the Italian-Ladin classes, the situation is the reverse. This arrangement means that the children learn to write in one of the two principal languages, German or Italian. In its role as an auxiliary language, Ladin is particularly important during the first two grades of primary school because it supports learning through the medium of German or Italian. This role diminishes in the later grades as the students acquire more proficiency in German and Italian. The paritetic system begins in earnest in Level 3 of primary school, when German and Italian are each the medium of instruction for 12.5 hours per week.

Middle school, for students 11–14 years of age, consists of three grades (see Table 6). Students have two (generally 45-minute) lessons per week of Ladin and three lessons per week of English in each grade of middle school. It may seem that the children have more exposure to English than to Ladin, but Ladin is widely used for a great deal of informal communication between the children and teachers. For historical and cultural reasons, German and Italian are each associated with certain subject areas: History, civics, biology, physics, chemistry, and religion are usually taught in German, whereas geography, music, physical education, and technical education are usually taught in Italian. This division of languages according to specific subjects increases the ability of instructors to teach effectively, but it also means that the students learn the specialized technical vocabulary of specific school subjects only in the language used to teach each subject.

In high school (ages 14–19), Ladin has minimal curricular importance as an academic subject but continues to be a medium of general and auxiliary communication between instructors and students and among students. In high school, as in middle school, German and Italian are used equally and are used to teach specific subjects. Recently, there have been heated discussions about the desirability of adding a second hour of Ladin instruction in high school. Although some parents favor this change, others argue that pupils would be burdened with too many hours of school.

Because of the distinctive character of these schools, a significant amount of instructional material in Ladin has been published. Most of this material has been

TABLE 6. LANGUAGE USE IN MIDDLE SCHOOL (HOURS PER WEEK)

	German		*Italian*			
Grade	***Subjects***	***Hours***	***Subjects***	***Hours***	***Ladin***	***English***
1	German, history, civics, biology, physics, chemistry, religion	16	Italian, geography, music, physical education, technical education	16	2	3
2		15		17	2	3
3		16		16	2	3

Source: Rifesser (1995, p. 123).

prepared by the Istitut Pedagogich Ladin (with the help of teachers) and is paid for by the local government. These materials generally take the form of small booklets that provide instructional assistance in Badiot and Gherdeina, the South Tyrolian Ladin varieties of Ladin.

DISTINGUISHING FEATURES

A Political Compromise

As mentioned above, the paritetic school system in the Ladin Valleys was a response to two opposing sociopolitical tendencies: one that favored German as the primary medium of instruction and one that favored Italian. Although language instruction has a critically important role in minority language areas like the Ladin Valleys, schools in these areas also have the duty to maintain cultural values and traditions (Verra, 1995). Indeed, this role is recognized by the Office of Education (1996), which directs that

> Ladin schools should be:
>
> 1. a medium to improve the cultural and social progress of the Ladin people, their language and their culture;
> 2. a place where people of a multilingual region receive an appropriate education that guarantees, through the parity school system, advanced knowledge of the Italian and German languages. (p. 1)

Another distinguishing feature of Ladin schools is the fact that, unlike schools in other regions, in which immersion in a second or third language has been promoted by community groups but resisted by school officials and politicians, the Ladin trilingual schools were introduced and implemented through political action. Many other immersion programs around the world do not enjoy such official support and recognition.

Instructors

The trilingual schools in the Ladin Valleys make significant and unusual demands on teachers, especially with regard to language instruction. Instructors who wish to gain a permanent position in the school system must take a trilingual examination. Instructors in the primary schools must be able to teach in all three languages and have a nativelike command at least of Ladin. Also, teacher candidates with Ladin as their native language are given preference for any positions in the middle and high schools.

Until recently, primary school instructors in the Ladin schools had to complete pedagogical training at a German or Italian teacher training college. Instructors in middle and upper-level schools must have completed a master's degree at an Italian- or German-speaking university. Now, however, a new college of education and instructional sciences at the University of Bolzano/Bozen in Bressanone/Brixen is exploring ways to train future instructors in the Ladin Valleys.

Parents' Role

Another distinguishing feature of the Ladin system of education is the role that parents have played in their children's schools. Although the decisions that established the Ladin school system were essentially political, parents who were against a single Italian school system were influential in the creation of the present system 50 years ago. Because issues concerning language instruction in the Ladin Valleys are politically and emotionally charged, cooperation among parents and school officials is essential. Active parental involvement during the creation of the Ladin schools has also meant that modern-day schools in the Ladin Valleys are able to meet demands for extensive community-parent involvement that schools throughout Italy now face. In contrast, elsewhere in Italy, community and parent representatives have been invited to play such active roles in schools only within the past 20 years.

PRACTICAL IDEAS

Include Parents in Planning

In many regions of the world, scientific and technical assistance has accompanied attempts to improve or alter language education from the beginning. Evaluations have revealed not only an improvement in language abilities and fluency but also the necessity of including parents in both the planning and implementation stages of such projects.

The Ladin schools were established without significant preevaluation and technical consultation. They have been successful, however, primarily because the school model both corresponded to the community's and parents' desires and led to significant levels of language proficiency.

Do Not Rely Solely on New Technologies

Various new technologies are both assisting native language instructors and replacing them at times as independent vehicles for language promotion. The linguistic situation in the Ladin Valleys makes modern technologies less necessary, as the languages are omnipresent in many daily situations: The students can meet people who speak the languages and can tune in to daily radio and television programs in all three languages, and daily life outside of the schools provides myriad opportunities for second and third language use. Thus the program did not need to rely on new technologies for contact with the languages.

Innovate Based on the Local Situation

Primarily through the establishment of a distinctive political constellation, a highly innovative school model with great promise has been established in South Tyrol. Because the language instruction model was applied in the Ladin schools before significant theoretical consultation, only a limited amount of descriptive analysis of that model is available. For this reason, the model is relatively unknown outside of the Ladin Valleys. Ironically, many of those in political situations who concern themselves with such issues turn to educational models in other minority cultures (e.g., the Basque territories, Aosta, the Åland Islands) before considering a visit to the local Ladin schools.

The model used in the Ladin Valley schools stands up well against most modern school ideals. It includes and provides for individuals who speak all regional languages rather than establishing a school for a single language group, and it includes a manageable amount of language instruction because students can use each language on a daily basis outside the schools. Thus the model was developed based on the local situation in the Ladin Valley.

CONCLUSION

The population of the Ladin Valleys is multicultural and multilingual. Although there are differences attached to each language, all members of the community are convinced that knowledge of all three is essential. Society itself demands multilingualism and supports its continuance. The trilingual school model in the Ladin Valleys represents an organizational and institutional system of language instruction that both defends and promotes a centuries-old tradition of multilingualism.

CONTRIBUTORS

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CHAPTER 6

A Bilingual Hungarian/Slovak School in the Slovak Republic

Bridget Fitzgerald Gersten

INTRODUCTION

"Az anyanyelv szep, emberul" (your mother tongue is beautiful; it makes you human). This Hungarian saying prefaces one particular case in which schools, parents, teachers, administrators, and students have successfully worked together to sustain their native language and cultural heritage. This chapter tells how one group of ethnic minority Hungarians in Slovakia created a school where the students can maintain their native language, culture, community, and social identity despite sociopolitical pressures from members of the majority group (i.e., Slovaks) to redeem cultural and linguistic identity through mainstreaming. The case study demonstrates how a commitment to native language and culture maintenance can serve as the foundation for high academic standards and performance.

In the area that is known today as the Slovak Republic, or Slovakia, Hungarians and Slovaks have taken turns as majority and minority groups. Today, the ethnic Hungarian minority constitutes the majority population in certain towns and villages in the southern and eastern regions of the country, especially near the Hungarian border. As is the case in many places where languages and cultures are in contact, there are debates linked to bilingual education. These debates are situated in the ideologies, histories, and social identities of each speech community.

CONTEXT

The present case study describes a Grade 1–12 Hungarian/Slovak dual-language or bilingual school in the Slovak Republic, a central European nation that shares borders with Austria, Ukraine, Hungary, Poland, and the Czech Republic. The analysis presented here draws on findings from research conducted on second language (L2) writing development in second- and third-grade classrooms (ages 7–9) at this school (B. F. Gersten, 1997).

Over the years, Hungarian language schooling has faced many challenges in Slovakia. That such heritage language programs continue to exist is due to well-organized efforts to maintain the community's distinctive sociocultural identity vis-a-vis the mainstream educational system. Although Hungarian was the majority language in this area for more than 1,000 years (from the 10th century through the mid-20th century), Slovak has been the only official language of the Slovak Republic for the past several decades (for a historical overview of ethnic Hungarians in Slovakia, see Brunner, 1996; Farkas, 1996).

Since the fall of communism in 1989, many heated debates about the role, status, and legitimacy of minority L1 schooling for this Hungarian community have been revitalized. Proponents of bilingual education have taken up their cause with international agencies, such as UNESCO and the Council of Europe, as well as with lobbying groups, such as teachers' unions, and the media.

In Slovakia today, some 450 schools still offer at least some instruction in Hungarian. These schools serve the ethnic Hungarian minority population, and they comprise approximately 9% of all classrooms in the country (Dolnik, 1994; Rosa, 1997). The schools are interspersed throughout southern and eastern Slovakia in small cities, towns, and villages on or near the Hungarian border. They continue to use Hungarian as the primary medium of instruction for all content area subjects, with the exception of instruction in Slovak and other foreign languages (i.e., English, German, and Russian). Slovak and Hungarian are two linguistically distinct languages, each with distinctive features in their phonology, morphology, syntax, lexicon, and orthography. Slovak is a western Slavic language, and Hungarian is believed to have its roots in the Ugro-Finnic family of languages.

Less than a century ago, however, Hungarian was the primary medium of instruction in many more schools, and the Slovak language was suppressed. Only when Hungary lost much of its territory after World War I did Slovakia declare Slovak its official language and institute Slovak as the medium of instruction. When this happened, Hungarians took on minority status, and Hungarian language and culture were eliminated from the curriculum. Though Hungarian schools continued to exist in smaller numbers over the years, recent debates center on how much Hungarian, if any, should be used at school.

Many surrounding smaller cities, towns, and villages throughout eastern and southern Slovakia share characteristics with this community. All are located along or near the Hungarian border, and in many 100% of the population considers itself Hungarian, not Slovak. In these geographical pockets, Hungarians are the majority group even though they are classified as a minority group in Slovakia. Hungarian is thus the dominant language of this group, and this status affects how proficient learners are in the Slovak language.

In Slovakia, many legislators and mainstream educators do not support the use of Hungarian in Slovak schools, especially for content area instruction. There is also a movement to remove so-called Hungarian subjects from the curriculum—for example, subjects such as Hungarian literature and history, which embody this ethnic group's social identity and sociohistorical heritage. After the fall of communism in 1989, mainstream authorities began to introduce legislation requiring that courses such as history and social studies be taught in Slovak, not Hungarian. This legislation affected the teaching of not only the Hungarian language per se but also Hungarian studies. Administratively, each school's autonomy in making curricular decisions was challenged. Moreover, mainstream educators made decisions about minority education without consulting educators from Hungarian-medium schools (for a discussion of recent controversial Slovak-only language law, see Evans, 1995; Kontra, 1996; see Bombova, 1998, for community reactions to proposed linguistic and educational curriculum reforms).

DESCRIPTION

The school described in this case is situated in a metropolitan area in eastern Slovakia, with nearly 1 million inhabitants, and it serves approximately 500 students. All students and teachers are fluent speakers of Hungarian, though a small percentage of children come from families in which other languages or dialects are also used at home (i.e., Slovak, Russian, Ukrainian, Ruthenian, Romany) (for historical and recent profiles of language minority groups in Slovakia and its schools, see Gyurcsik & Satterwhite, 1996; Kocsis & Kocsis-Hodosi, n.d.; Kontra, 1996; Williams, 1995). The school is something of a safe haven for Hungarian language and culture. It is a place where students can celebrate their sociolinguistic identity as ethnic Hungarians through a common language and common cultural heritage.

Parents who choose this school for their children freely elect to do so despite the additional costs, commitments, and constraints involved (e.g., the purchase of Hungarian language materials, participation in frequent extracurricular events in a closely knit community, additional curricula to accommodate instruction in two languages, and transportation issues). Parents who enroll their children at this school give a vote of confidence to a bilingual curriculum and the program's emphasis on L1 instruction, Hungarian studies, high academic standards, bilingualism, and biliteracy.

In Grades 1–12, Slovak language arts is taught three to five periods a week (see Tables 1 and 2). Children who attend this school were previously either enrolled in (a) a Hungarian-medium kindergarten with some Slovak instruction or (b) a Slovak-medium kindergarten with minimal or no Hungarian instruction. Hungarian language, literacy, and sociocultural development are the focus of schooling in Grades 1–12. Across the curriculum, the L1 is never abandoned in favor of the L2. Transitioning and mainstreaming in the U.S. sense thus do not occur at this school, though more subjects are taught using Slovak in secondary school.

This bilingual school has two main goals: (a) to maintain the heritage language and culture and (b) to foster bilingualism and biliteracy among all students. Both goals are embedded in the mission of the school: to promote high academic standards and create an academic and social environment that prepares individuals for society and the workplace. Though the school described here has been classified as bilingual, administrators, teachers, staff, and students use Hungarian among themselves. This school is designated as bilingual because two languages, not one, are integral parts of the curriculum throughout the grades.

This school also fits into a bilingual paradigm because Slovak, the students' and teachers' L2, is the language of the majority group in the broader society. Additionally, Slovak is an L2 for the majority of students. It is taught communicatively in the early elementary grades and is used for content instruction in secondary school. Students also study foreign languages from the second grade; English is mandatory, but students can elect to add another foreign language in middle or high school.

Dual Language Use

Hungarian and Slovak coexist as languages of instruction throughout the grades, but the primary language used by teachers and students at school is strictly Hungarian. In secondary school, at ages 15–18, students learn more specialized vocabulary in Slovak from science, math, and other content areas. Educators at this school believe

TABLE 1. CONTENT AREA INSTRUCTION, GRADES 1–8 (45-MINUTE PERIODS PER WEEK)

	Grade							
Content Area	***1***	***2***	***3***	***4***	***5***	***6***	***7***	***8***
Hungarian language arts	5	7	7	7	5	5	4	4
Slovak language arts[a]	5	5	5	5	4	5	5	5
Math	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	4
Art	2	2	2	1		1	2	1
Music	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Physical education	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
English[a]	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Social studies/science	1	2	3	3				
History					2	2		2
Geography					1	2	2	2
Biology					2	2	2	
Physics						2	2	2
Chemistry								2
Religion[b]		1	1		1			1
German[a, b]		1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Other								
Computers					5	1		
Ethics					1	1		
Civics						1	1	
Total hours, including electives	23	28	29	27	27.5	33	29	29

[a] Taught in the L2; all other courses are taught in the L1

[b] Elective

that it is in the students' best interest to learn specialized terminology because it will help them academically, that is, to compete in the job market and succeed on Slovak language college entrance exams. In my case study research (B. F. Gersten, 1997), administrators, teachers, parents, and students all noted the extreme importance of Slovak language and literacy skills in succeeding at school and in society at large. At the same time, all valued Hungarian as the heritage language and as something that should be promoted, practiced, and preserved by the Hungarian community.

The L2 curriculum is driven by the needs and expectations of the students and the community. Their needs are academic, personal, and social. In elementary school, the L2 curriculum aims to promote communication skills and literacy, namely, how to use Slovak in speech and writing, to interact socially, and to succeed academically (through biliteracy). In middle and secondary school, for students aged 12–14 and 15–18, respectively, the Slovak language curriculum becomes increas-

TABLE 2. CONTENT AREA INSTRUCTION, GRADES 9–12 (45-MINUTE PERIODS PER WEEK)

	Grade			
Content Area	***9***	***10***	***11***	***12***
Hungarian language arts	4	3	3	3
Slovak language arts[a]	5	3	3	3
Math	4	4	3	3
English[c]	3	3	3[b]	3[b]
Physics	2	2	3	2
Chemistry	2	2	2	2
Biology/lab		5	4	4
History	2	2	2	2
Geography	2	2		
Esthetics or civics	2		1	2
Physical education	3	3	3	3
Computers	2	2	2	
Religion or ethics	1		1	
German[c] or French[c]	1	2	3[d]	3[d]
Total hours, including electives	33	33	32	31

[a] Taught in the L2; all other courses are taught in the L1

[b] Or another language

[c] Elective

[d] Or English

ingly academic. Students develop their skills as readers and writers of Slovak as specialized vocabulary is introduced. In this educational system, students are often expected to memorize and recite information for peers in class and teachers during exams. They are also expected to be articulate in speech and in writing, and, consequently, the curriculum and instruction revolve around these goals. Teachers strive to provide the students with the skills they need to take oral and written career-related or university examinations in Slovak in a variety of vocational or academic disciplines. Furthermore, the sociopolitical realities place demands on students, parents, and educators alike: L2 proficiency and literacy are necessary to be successful in mainstream, L2 society.

Language Arts Curricula

Throughout Grades 1–12, Slovak language arts instruction is a mixture of instruction in grammar, composition, literature, and oral skills. The school maintains and develops two separate, or diglossic, realms of instruction. On the one hand, the focus is on content area instruction and subjects related to their broader socialization, and, on the other hand, courses aim to preserve the ethnic Hungarian identity through language and literacy. Two sets of values thus coexist. One set is culturally relevant to the Hungarian identity, whereas the other is expected and valued by the mainstream community. Taken together, these two sets of values make for a distinctive bilingual identity shared by ethnic Hungarians who are citizens of the Slovak Republic. As bilinguals, these students use dual funds of knowledge: (a) the behaviors and values expected of educated Slovak citizens, which are prescribed by the national curriculum, the Slovak constitution, and the norms of the majority group; and (b) sociocultural knowledge that is inherent in Hungarian cultural and linguistic heritage.

The bilingual program is comprehensive throughout Grades 1–12, as the students use both the L1 and the L2 (the academic calendar runs from early September through mid-June). The school day is organized into 45-minute periods of instruction. Each period is dedicated to a particular content area—there are no blocks of time dedicated to an integrated or holistic curriculum. In Grades 1–5 (ages 6–11), one classroom teacher is in charge of all content areas except for Slovak, English, art, and music (which are usually taught by teachers certified in these subjects). The students often move from one grade to the next with the same set of peers because relocation is uncommon, and the immigrant population is marginal or nonexistent. The community of the school allows the students and their families to develop close and continuing relationships throughout a child's educational career.

In the second- and third-grade classrooms (ages 7–9), the curriculum includes nine 45-minute periods of instruction daily: mathematics, civic education, social studies (history, geography, and science), Hungarian language arts (literature and language/grammar instruction), English, Slovak language arts, music, and art (see Table 3). Language arts curricula in both languages include reading, grammar study, composition, poetry, and literature. As in all grades, the language arts curriculum is based on authentic literature, literary analysis, and author studies. The children read and reflect upon a variety of authentic texts—abridged and unabridged—including Hungarian folktales, children's literature, and international authors in translation (e.g., in second and third grade, readings include excerpts from Aesop's fables, Shakespeare, and other European writers).

Table 3. Sample Daily Schedule in Second and Third Grades (Excluding Lunch and Recess)

Monday	***Tuesday***	***Wednesday***	***Thursday***	***Friday***
Slovak	Hungarian literature	Hungarian grammar	Hungarian literature	Math
Math	Hungarian grammar	Slovak	Math	Slovak
Hungarian literature	Math	Physical education	English	Hungarian literature
Hungarian grammar	Slovak	Math	Slovak	Hungarian grammar
Social studies	Civics	English	Social studies	English
Art	Music	Social studies	Art	

In Hungarian and Slovak language arts classes, teachers seek to instill an appreciation for language as a powerful, expressive mode of communication and a sense of how language is linguistically structured. They accomplish this by regularly devoting class time to activities that focus on reading comprehension, word play, stylistics, literary analysis, and readers' response or interpretation. As students read, enjoy, and critically comment on authentic texts, they are also encouraged to be creative as they act out, read, or illustrate texts they read or hear. For example, in elementary school, the students respond to literature by drawing and coloring and are encouraged by the teacher to use their imagination. Children also read aloud chorally and individually with peers, taking cues from their audience to gauge each oral performance (and to correct their peers) with respect to pronunciation, intonation, rhythm, rhyming patterns, and nonverbal language. They also act out stories, alone or with peers. In this way, the teachers create opportunities for the students to develop their performance skills and sense of audience while inspiring a love of the language and creativity. More formal grammar study is the focus of instruction during separate grammar lessons; the teacher leads the students through a combination of workbook, open-ended, and oral exercises, having the students frequently explain in detail how they arrived at their answers. The writing curriculum thus consists of a balance of controlled exercises and creative writing.

As noted in my ethnographic study on L2 writing (B. F. Gersten, 1997), second- and third-grade children at this school often created their own narrative and expository writing when they composed in Slovak (in a writers' workshop format). The students' own compositions were stylistically patterned after familiar literature and a well-developed notion of story grammar, illustrating the link between what they read and what they wrote. They adopted conventions from literature they had read or heard, or from cartoons or fables they had seen on film, including how to begin, develop, and end a story. In addition, they drew their own illustrations to accompany texts they composed alone or with peers, to make them come alive. They also spontaneously performed their own individual and collaborative creations, to the delight of their peers, enhancing the community of writers they crafted together in and outside class.

There are no monolingual Slovak speakers at this school, so ethnic Hungarians and ethnic Slovaks are likely to meet only outside the school, in the broader community. However, many students take part in after-school programs in the community, which gives them additional opportunities to use Slovak as an L2 with peers. Though art and music are offered at school, parents often enroll their children in classical, modern, and folk dance lessons as well as choir, sports, and art lessons in town to provide their children with a well-rounded education and with social opportunities to use Slovak. It is in these contexts, as well as at summer camp, for example, that children use Slovak with native speakers.

Materials, Curricula, and Assessment

There are three main sources of materials and curricula at this school: (a) Ministry of Education–mandated curricula and materials for instruction in Hungarian and Slovak, (b) Hungarian-medium materials ordered from Budapest and paid for by parents, and (c) foreign language materials for foreign language study (e.g., English, German, Russian). Students may purchase additional materials at school, such as commercially produced scholastic magazines in Slovak and Hungarian (and foreign languages). To meet their goal of providing language arts and culturally relevant instruction in two languages while meeting instructional mandates from the Ministry of Education, the teachers must abide by two sets of standards and rules within a set time frame (i.e., cover a certain amount of content area material in both languages within the course of the semester or academic year). In other words, the school is held accountable for covering a dual curriculum in language, literacy, and content area instruction.

Assessment is ongoing and criterion referenced in the elementary grades; no standardized tests or other quantitative measurement tools are used to evaluate performance in this or any other school in Slovakia. In keeping with traditional European models of education that assess content area knowledge, speaking, and critical thinking skills, much testing is oral (e.g., the students are called on to give oral answers to the teacher's questions). By the time the students approach final examinations (i.e., school-leaving examinations) in their L1 and L2 and university entrance examinations in their L2 only, they have had numerous opportunities to develop their oral, oratory, and testing skills in the L2 (i.e., students participate in a variety of competitions at the local, regional, and nationwide level, and sometimes internationally).

DISTINGUISHING FEATURES

Each distinguishing feature of this bilingual school has an impact on the curriculum, the social environment of the school, and the role of the L1 and L2 in children's lives. These features form part of the students' broader socialization, and they affect the development of literacy and the students' social identities as bilinguals. In this section, I draw from my research in second- and third-grade classrooms (B. F. Gersten, 1997) and expand on some notions presented above.

Absence of Slovak Speakers at School

As noted above, there are no monolingual Slovak students enrolled in the program. When the students speak Slovak, they do so with one another, but only during L2 instruction, putting on a "bilingual" hat (though code switching is prevalent). That there are no Slovak-dominant children at this dual-language school testifies to its mission and purpose: to support Hungarian language and culture among ethnic Hungarians by means of quality education with high academic standards in the Hungarian language. In general, ethnic Slovaks choose not to enroll their children in this school because of its focus on Hungarian.

In my research, the teacher's insistence on using the L2 in class and her own highly proficient use of Slovak were important factors in getting her students to use the language individually and with peers, especially because they normally interacted in Hungarian at school. Despite the absence of native speakers of Slovak at school, each student in my study used Slovak with varying degrees of proficiency and for various purposes on an everyday basis during their L2 classes, taking on multiple roles as writers, speakers, players, singers, audience, and peer critics. The students took the lead from their teacher, who spoke to them in both the L1 and the L2, always pushing them to use the L2 during Slovak instruction. Expectations for L2 use were embedded in the context itself, that is, the fact that it was Slovak class, when the teacher and peers used the L2 together to accomplish myriad tasks for meaningful purposes.

Use of Hungarian for L1 Maintenance and Content Area Instruction

In this program, content area instruction occurs primarily in the L1 at all grade levels. There is relatively more emphasis on the L2 in the middle and high school grades. Thus, as long as the students remain in this school, there is a guarantee that their L1 will be the primary medium of communication for language, literacy, and cultural development, although not at the expense of L2 development and use. It was with L1 use that the students involved in my research solidified their ties with members of the broader Hungarian speech community, as they identified with Hungarian heritage.

The experiences and identity of these ethnic Hungarians were different from those of Hungarians who were born, raised, and educated in Hungary (see Lanstyak & Szabomihaly, 1995, for comments on contact varieties of Hungarian in Slovakia). Because L1 instruction in this program was supported and valued throughout the grades, the students were under little pressure to replace the L1 with the L2. However, many students at this school firmly believed that knowing Slovak well was important as a civic duty and personal aspiration. The curriculum maintained a balancing of the L1 and the L2, and the L2 was not a threat to L1 use or social identity.

The Speaking-Reading Connection: Linking Oral Language and Literacy

In class, the students are expected to address their teachers and peers to demonstrate what they have learned (e.g., from texts they read or performances they watch, by conducting experiments in class). Thus, students routinely address an audience that consists of teacher and peers with the expectation that they will be judged not only according to the content presented in class (i.e., whether their answers are on the mark) but also by their oratorical bravado and their mastery of rhetorical modes. For example, after studying, analyzing, and memorizing texts in both Hungarian- and Slovak-medium classes, the students perform texts aloud in class, responding as well to the teacher's probing, analytical questions about the text or problem under analysis.

In my study of L2 writing in second- and third-grade Slovak classes, the teacher frequently encouraged the students to engage in a dialogue with her to explain or elaborate on questions and comments they made. A typical discourse pattern in the classroom involved Socratic minidialogues between teacher and individual students, as students volunteered as or the teacher appointed spokespersons or partners in dialogue. This pattern is part of the students' socialization process, beginning in kindergarten and first grade. It is firmly grounded in the culture of this speech community.

I also observed that the majority of the students relished the opportunity to perform their creative works in progress before teacher and peers, at least when they felt prepared. These artful performances before an audience were a source of pride and challenge: The students knew the standards of good performance, namely, using appropriate verbal (e.g., intonation, volume, rate of delivery, dramatic verbalizations) and nonverbal (e.g., facial and body movement, eye contact, gestures) behaviors that belonged to the discourse of speech and public presentations. In their roles as actors and audience alike, the students tapped into a wealth of culturally and socially based knowledge. Similarly, just as children had been read to at home and at school, they, too, had developed notions about readers, writers, performers, audience, and story by working with a variety of literary genres and text types (i.e., drama, poetry, fables, fiction, nonfiction). Likewise, they had experimented with and adopted multiple roles in the L1 and L2 stories they wrote and performed, and they worked within a familiar set of traditional expectations about reading and writing for an audience.

Literacy as a Multisensory, Social Activity

I observed another distinguishing feature in both the Hungarian and the Slovak language arts curricula: Students used language as a tool to analyze the world around them and express themselves artistically or aesthetically. As the students learned to read and write in Slovak, they turned what could be considered a formidable task into one of play, experimentation, and artistic expression—by embedding literacy events in their social worlds. What guided the children was not simply the teacher's directions or expectations. On the contrary, reading and writing became part of their social worlds, and students used their knowledge about how texts work to create their own texts.

The students were given multiple opportunities to compose with their peers, using dialogue journals and engaging in writers' workshops (Calkins, 1986; Peyton, 1990; Samway, 1987; Staton, Shuy, Peyton, & Reed, 1988). As they did, composition took on multisensory hues: art, play, performance, and drama became integral parts of literacy events. They were given the freedom to choose their own topics and to interact with peers frequently during the writing process. As a result, the students explored and experimented with their emerging talents as writers. With little coaxing from their teacher, the students sat down impromptu with pen, pencil, crayons, and paper and composed, drawing on familiar literacy conventions about how a text works. Furthermore, what mattered was not simply the end product but the social activity that led to it, as well as the artfulness and ingenuity of the compositions themselves (e.g., colorful illustrations, attentive penmanship, or performances by the author or peers). Consequently, the students enthusiastically responded whenever they were given time to write. When composing, they actively made choices about what, how, how much, and with whom to write.

Ongoing Developmental Assessment

In this program, the students were evaluated regularly in both their L1 and their L2. Much of the evaluation was ongoing, taking into account a child's development and academic performance. No standardized tests were used at this school or other public schools around the country. Assessment was based largely on children's ability to complete work at home and in class, and on the ability to present this knowledge verbally to teachers and peers in a clear and coherent manner that demonstrated children's fundamental conceptual understanding. As children were called on to stand at their desks or in front of the class to respond to the teacher's questions, their peers checked their understanding or sought further clarification and detail from the teacher.

PRACTICAL IDEAS

In this section, I outline some ideas that are applicable to bilingual and L2 classrooms based on practices at the school described in my research.

Create Opportunities for Learners to Use Their L2

Though there were no Slovak-dominant speakers at this school, all students used their L2 for a variety of functions among themselves during Slovak instruction. According to parents, teachers, administrators, and older siblings and students at this school, the contact with majority L2 speakers and L2 media, especially television, outside the school was important in developing their L2 proficiency so that they could become fully competent bilingual citizens. The teachers created opportunities for the students to use Slovak with their Hungarian classmates for a variety of purposeful, meaningful interactions. This daily use of Slovak during language arts classes with their peers was routine. This practice fit nicely into the curriculum, and the teachers themselves, as competent bilinguals, were role models for L2 use even though Hungarian was the dominant language at school and in the home.

Support Literacy Through Multiple Experiences

The teachers in the school encouraged young students to forge links between their imaginary and social worlds and literacy, and to make connections with authors they had read or heard. This was done by having the students illustrate their own compositions and other stories that they had read in class or at home. Their illustrations were often vibrant interpretations of what they had read, and they were a source of pride and pleasure when read silently, read aloud in class, or shared with small sets of peers. Written text also took on a life of its own, as when the students spontaneously created dramatic performances for their peers and the teacher from stories they were reading or composing.

The teachers linked literacy to artistic expression and performance in many ways. They used frequent, sustained storytelling to provide the students with the linguistic tools they needed in the L2 (and the L1) to tell stories on their own. In the second and third grade, the teacher chose texts that were rich in literary, poetic, and dramatic effects, drawing the students' attention to the structure of the stories through dramatic readings and student performance or role play. Having students perform stories they read and wrote made literacy a multisensory experience and social event, allowing them to make connections with their imaginary and social worlds. In any class, students can be encouraged to interpret texts that they read, comparing and contrasting these multiple interpretations with their peers. This, in turn, cultivates readers' responses not just intellectually but aesthetically. These activities ensure that literacy development is rewarding, challenging, and enjoyable. When young children compose texts in their L1 or L2, they can apply formal rules they have learned in class about grammar, stylistics, and literary convention, going beyond controlled exercises that often form the core of traditional language arts instruction.

Examine and Understand the Role of L1 Use in L2 Literacy

During the year I spent at this school, I observed that the L1 played an enormous role in promoting L2 writing. Close examination of intrapersonal (i.e., talking to oneself while composing) and interpersonal (i.e., talking to others during composing) L1 use revealed, somewhat surprisingly, that only rarely did the students stray far from the task at hand while composing in their L2. In fact, they were often so engrossed with writing that they were reluctant to put their creations away each day. Although it is often said that teachers should discourage students from using their L1 during L2 instruction, many bilingual educators agree that it is natural for children to use their L1, especially in their social worlds. As educators analyze the purposes for which L1s are used in L2 classrooms, they can better understand how the L1 can be a constructive means that learners, especially young ones, can use to reach their ends.

CONCLUSION

This bilingual school exemplifies how the interests of the school, the family, and the community and the overarching political interests of this ethnic Hungarian community were successfully balanced. Though faced with many tension-laden, historically grounded political debates involving minorities in Slovakia, ethnic Hungarians in this school community believe L1 education is an essential part of their survival as a speech community. Though emotionally charged initiatives to replace L1 instruction with L2 instruction in various content areas threaten L1 use at school, parents, teachers, and administrators continue to press their cause for L1 use in these schools. It is not known at present whether the school will survive in force and number. Nevertheless, parents and educators understand the importance of advocacy to maintain their language, culture, and identity. They recognize the importance of maintaining the L1 throughout the grades as medium of instruction in the content areas. What continues to sustain the school is its commitment to high academic standards and beliefs about the fundamental importance of bilingualism, biliteracy, and the maintenance of the ethnolinguistic heritage of the community.

CONTRIBUTOR

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PART 2

Maintaining an Indigenous Language Through Bilingual Education

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CHAPTER 7

E Ola Ka Hawai'i I Kona 'Ōlelo: Hawaiians Live in Their Language

Lois A. Yamauchi and Puanani Wilhelm

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, we describe Papahana Kaiapuni Hawai'i, the Hawaiian Language Immersion Program, as a case of bilingual education in a heritage/indigenous language and English. Kaiapuni is the world's only K–12 indigenous language immersion program conducted in the medium of the Hawaiian language. During the 1999–2000 school year, approximately 1,800 students participated in Kaiapuni in 17 public schools on five of the eight Hawaiian Islands. In Kaiapuni classrooms, as in other second language (L2) immersion programs, the target language is used as the medium of instruction along with English (Genesee, 1996). Rather than taking language classes to learn Hawaiian, immersion students learn the L2 by conversing in Hawaiian throughout the school day with teachers and peers. Thus, children learn Hawaiian incidentally as they communicate about meaningful activities, much in the same way a first language (L1) is learned at home (Genesee, 1987, 1996).

CONTEXT

The Past

Prior to the institution of Papahana Kaiapuni Hawai'i, there were approximately 2,000 Hawaiian speakers and only 30 under the age of 18 (Heckathorn, 1987). The declining number of Hawaiian speakers resulted from a 90-year ban on its use following the overthrow of the Hawaiian monarchy in 1893. Before then, Hawaiian was the language of all governmental activities in Hawaii, including public education. Following the overthrow, however, Hawaiian was banned from all governmental activities and was forbidden in the schools, and many older Hawaiians recall being beaten for speaking their native language as students (Viotti, 1996). Although the language continued to be spoken on the privately owned island of Ni'ihau and in some households and churches on other islands, use of the Hawaiian language decreased dramatically, as did the general status of the language (Benham & Heck, 1997). For many Hawaiian speakers, a sense of shame was associated with the language. Many Hawaiians did not teach the language to their children and promoted the learning of English instead.

In the 1970s and 1980s, there was a renewed interest and pride in the Hawaiian culture and language (Benham & Heck, 1997). Native Hawaiians also became more politically active, initiating a call for sovereignty and redress. In 1978, delegates to a state constitutional convention established that Hawaiian along with English would be the official languages. In 1987, the first two Kaiapuni classrooms opened. Many credit the parents and supporters of Punana Leo, a privately operated Hawaiian language immersion preschool, for convincing the state to establish Kaiapuni in the public schools.

Many recognize Kaiapuni as a kind of school reform for native Hawaiians. Compared with other ethnic groups in the state, Hawaiians are among the lowest scoring groups on standardized achievement tests. Hawaiians are also underrepresented in higher education and overrepresented in special education (Office of Hawaiian Affairs, 1994). Evaluations of Kaiapuni students' academic achievement indicate that students score as well in English as comparable nonimmersion peers do but are also learning the Hawaiian language (Slaughter, 1997).

The Students

Most Kaiapuni students enter the program in kindergarten with little or no fluency in Hawaiian. The majority of students have had little exposure to Hawaiian before attending the program. Although the socioeconomic status of Kaiapuni families is similar to that of the public school population at large, students are different from other public school students with regard to their ethnicity: 23.4% of the public school population at large is Hawaiian or part Hawaiian, while approximately 98% of Kaiapuni students are of Hawaiian or part-Hawaiian descent. Academically, Kaiapuni students represent the same range of abilities and achievement levels as students in the public schools do, including students who qualify for special education and gifted and talented programs.

Family Involvement

Families who choose the immersion program are asked to commit to learning the language themselves. Approximately 20% of Kaiapuni families speak Hawaiian at home, although a greater percentage of family members are attempting to learn the language through community language classes. Considering that Kaiapuni grew out of parents' lobbying efforts, it is clear why the program has become known for its parental involvement, particularly regarding administrative and advocacy functions.

The Teachers

Like Kaiapuni students, the majority of the Kaiapuni teachers are of Hawaiian or part-Hawaiian ancestry. Only 1 of the approximately 100 full-time teachers is a native speaker of Hawaiian. All the other teachers learned the language in high school and at university, and have had varied amounts of exposure to Hawaiian outside their language classes. Given this situation, establishing a high level of Hawaiian language proficiency among all Kaiapuni teachers is a concern. In addition, although most Kaiapuni teachers are certified teachers, many did not enter the program with a background in immersion education. To address these needs, the state Department of Education (DOE) offers ongoing in-service workshops for teachers in Hawaiian language and immersion teaching methods.

Many Kaiapuni teachers are concerned about teaching mathematics and science in Hawaiian. These subjects, whether taught in English or Hawaiian, require specialized vocabulary. Most Kaiapuni teachers did not learn the Hawaiian words for concepts such as *right angle* (*huina kūpono*) and *cell* (*hunaola*) in their university language classes. In fact, until recently, many mathematical and scientific concepts did not have Hawaiian equivalents. To meet the modern needs of a growing community of Hawaiian language speakers, a committee of Hawaiian language scholars and teachers meets periodically to "invent" new Hawaiian words.

Since the program's inception, there has been concern about the availability of personnel who are both language proficient and certified (Slaughter, 1997; Yamauchi, Ceppi, & Lau-Smith, 1999b). Early in the program's history, the teachers who were recruited held teaching credentials and also happened to have some Hawaiian language skills. Kaiapuni principals sometimes resorted to hiring teachers who were not certified but were proficient Hawaiian speakers. These early teachers had not attended college with the intention of becoming Hawaiian immersion teachers. However, there are now university programs that prepare teachers specifically for the Kaiapuni program.

DESCRIPTION

The Kaiapuni program is designed to be a full immersion program; Hawaiian is used exclusively for the entire school day until Grade 5. In Grade 5, instruction in English is introduced for approximately 1 hour a day. For that one hour, students receive formal instruction in English language reading. However, the lack of qualified teaching staff for certain subjects in the secondary grades has resulted in some students being exposed to more than 1 hour of instruction in English each day. That is, when qualified staff are not available, Kaiapuni secondary students may take other courses conducted in English. This is often the case for special education and for the mathematics and science content areas, in which teacher shortages exist.

A Typical Day in a Kaiapuni Classroom

It is difficult to describe a typical day in a Kaiapuni classroom because, just as English language classrooms vary, Kaiapuni teachers vary in their implementation of the curriculum. In addition, classroom activities differ across grade levels, which range from kindergarten to Grade 12. The following description of a day in one teacher's classroom is based on the first author's interview with the teacher, Leialoha Kelekolio, and a video documentary of 2 days in her classroom (Ceppi & Kelekolio, 1999).

In 1999, Leialoha was a second-grade Kaiapuni teacher at Nānākuli Elementary School. The children in Leialoha's classroom came from a rural area approximately 35 miles west of Honolulu. Most students lived on the Hawaiian Homestead, land set aside by the state for residential and agricultural use by people of Hawaiian ancestry. The Kaiapuni program at Nānākuli was "a school within a school," in that the campus also housed an English language program. Because Leialoha's students were in the second grade, no instructional time was set aside for English language instruction. However, when the class met with resource teachers, for example, for computer lessons, their activities were conducted in English. Leialoha always spoke to her students in Hawaiian, although the children occasionally responded to her or to their peers in English or their L1, Hawai'i Creole English.

The school day began for Leialoha's students at 8:00 a.m., when the bell rang and students lined up with the other Kaiapuni students outside their classrooms. They began to *oli* (chant in Hawaiian) to ask their teachers for permission to enter their classrooms. When the children were ready, Leialoha and the other Kaiapuni teachers chanted back, granting permission and welcoming the children to school. The teachers and students together sang *Hawai'i Pono'i*, the state song.

After the students entered their classroom, they turned in their homework and settled on the floor for the daily morning routine. One child took the lead, reviewing the month and the day of the week and charting the temperature and the phase of the moon. The children also counted the number of days left until the end of the year. Leialoha reviewed the agenda for the rest of the day and led the children in a mathematics activity that was based on a commercial mathematics curriculum. Students wrote a "morning letter," which was posted on the board and collectively corrected for spelling and grammar.

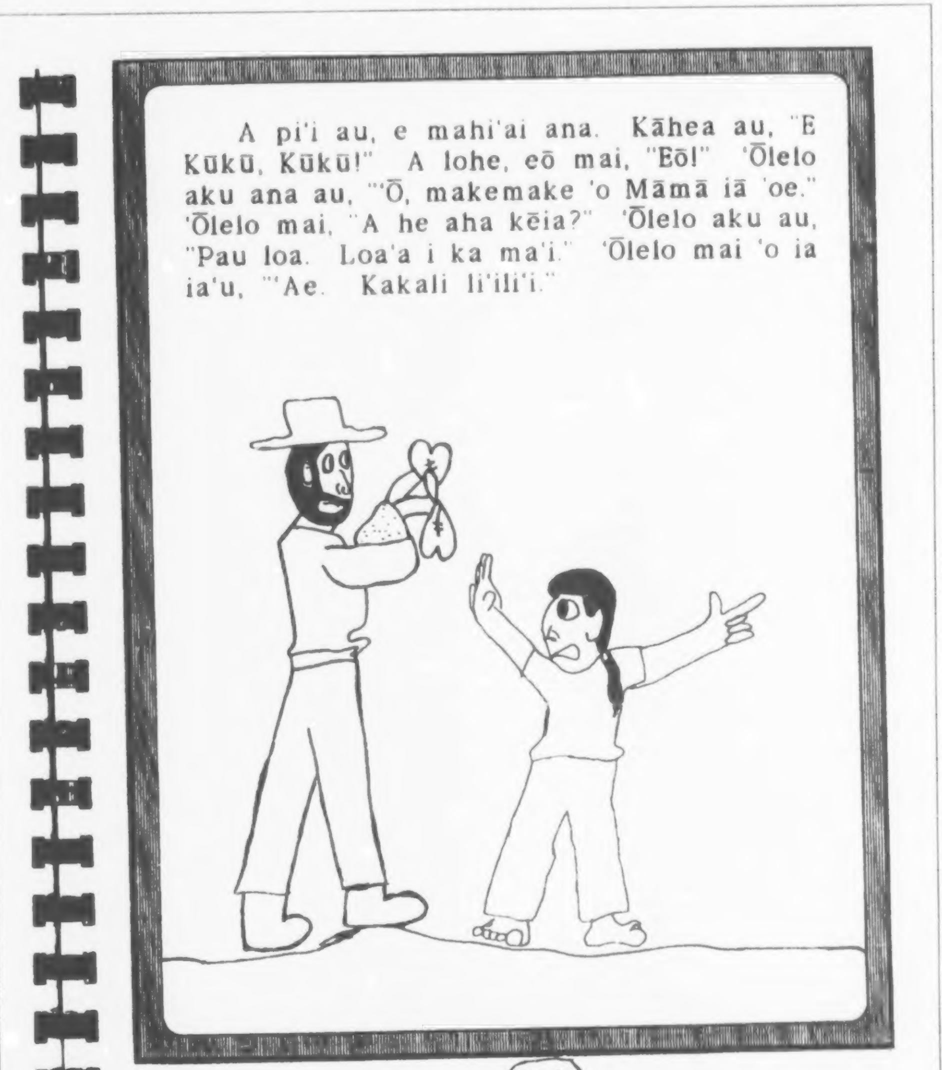
It was time for recess. The students went outside to the playground and interacted with other Kaiapuni students and students from the English language program. After recess, the class engaged in 15 minutes of sustained silent reading. This was followed by another language arts activity based on a book about how Native Alaskans made mittens. The students read the book in small groups and followed the instructions written on the board to make their own mittens. After lunch, the students wrote in journals and completed an art activity. Then they went outside for a music class with a resource teacher to prepare for an upcoming assembly. The school day ended around 2:30 p.m.

Except for the fact that nearly all activities were conducted in Hawaiian, the above description of a day in Leialoha's classroom may appear similar to what might be expected in an English language classroom. However, as we discuss in later sections of this chapter, Kaiapuni is not just a Hawaiian translation of the English program. Kaiapuni teachers incorporate Hawaiian values, knowledge, and teaching methods into their classroom activities. For example, Leialoha's students, like all Kaiapuni students, begin their day with an *oli* to ask permission to enter the classroom. If students are late, they must *oli* to their teachers and peers and wait for the group to welcome them in. This traditional Hawaiian practice reflects Hawaiian beliefs about social relationships and learning. Leialoha's decision to have students read about native Alaskans also reflects a curriculum that emphasizes indigenous people and their perspectives on life.

Materials and Other Resources

A perennial concern of those working with the Kaiapuni program is the development of an appropriate curriculum in the Hawaiian language. When the Kaiapuni program first began, there was little time or funding to develop a full range of original materials in Hawaiian. The fastest way to make materials available was to translate existing materials from English. Some of these early translations were student readers and mathematics workbooks. Other materials were translated literature, such as the children's classic *Charlotte's Web* (E. B. White, 1952). Kaiapuni teachers translated most of these early texts themselves.

Over time, Kaiapuni educators realized that the practice of simply translating materials from English to Hawaiian did not support a Hawaiian world view (Garma et al., 1999). More recently, these educators have argued for the development of Kaiapuni materials that originate in Hawaiian and promote a more indigenous perspective. One of the ways that curriculum development has changed is that developers use Hawaiian text generated before the ban on the language. For example, some teachers use articles that were published in Hawaiian newspapers. Other teachers have incorporated the use of novel-length traditional Hawaiian stories, which were previously transmitted orally but have been preserved in writing. Some of these published texts include illustrations by Kaiapuni students (see Figure 1).



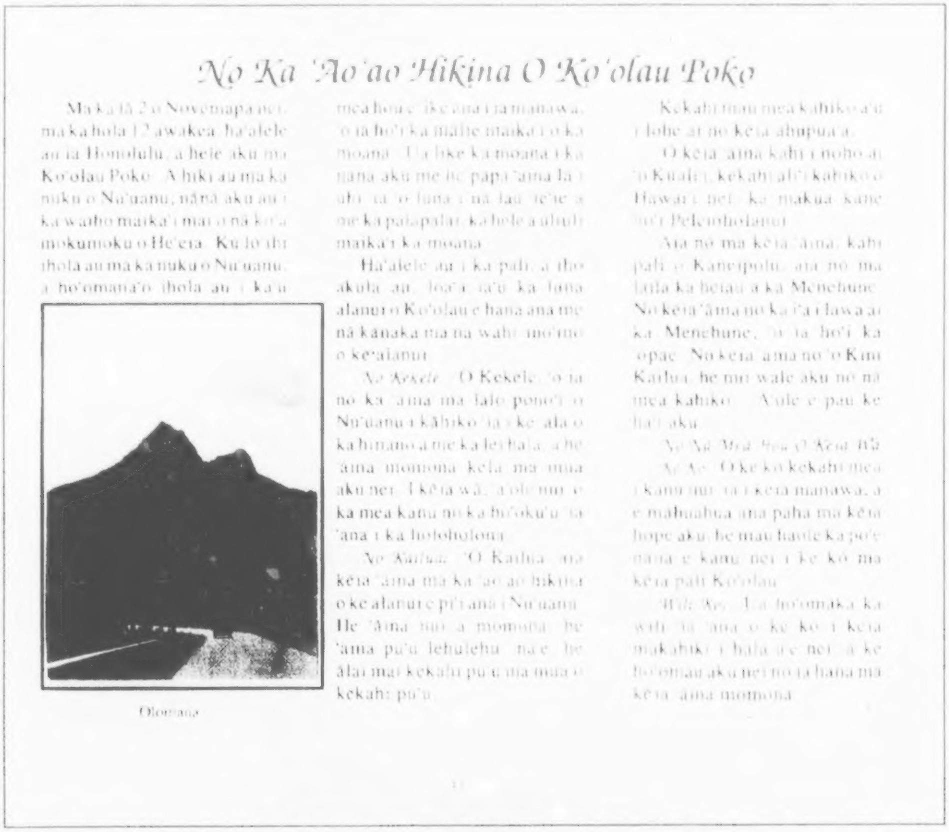
A pi'i au, e mahi'ai ana. Kāhea au, "E Kūkū, Kūkū!" A lohe, eō mai, "Eō!" 'Ōlelo aku ana au, "'Ō, makemake 'o Māmā iā 'oe." 'Ōlelo mai, "A he aha kēia?" 'Ōlelo aku au, "Pau loa. Loa'a i ka ma'i." 'Ōlelo mai 'o ia ia'u, "'Ae. Kakali li'ili'i."

Figure 1. Page From *He Pohaku Laki* (*The Lucky Stone*; Ho, 1992)

Although traditional Hawaiian novels are very valuable for their complex and aesthetic use of the language and for their cultural insights of another generation, they do not reflect the issues and concerns of modern Hawaiians. There remains a need to create new Hawaiian literature that reflects the experiences of modern life. University students have created some of these newer texts; Figure 2 presents a page from a book prepared by fourth-year Hawaiian language students at the university level.

Program Evaluation

Slaughter and her colleagues (e.g., Slaughter, Bogart, & Bobbitt, 1995) conducted a longitudinal external evaluation to assess Kaiapuni students' Hawaiian language acquisition, English language development, and mathematics achievement. The evaluation focused on the first two cohorts of students, following them through the end of Grade 6. The results indicated that by the end of kindergarten, most students had gained fluency in the Hawaiian language and viewed themselves as Hawaiian speakers. Although there are no grade-level standards for reading in Hawaiian, students appeared to be achieving proficiency at appropriate estimated levels. Students' Hawaiian language writing skills also appeared to be adequate, although



No Ka 'Ao'ao Hikina O Ko'olau Poko

FIGURE 2. Page From *O'ahu, Ka 'Onohi O Nā Kai* (*O'ahu, Center of the Sea*; Department of Education, 1993), a Factual Text Prepared by Fourth-Year Hawaiian University Students

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they did not meet the standards of some teachers who assisted with the evaluation (Slaughter, 1997). On mathematics assessments in Hawaiian, students performed adequately to well in most grade levels, although Slaughter (1997) suggested that mathematics achievement was suppressed by the lack of appropriate textbooks and other materials.

The results of English standardized achievement tests of reading, writing, and mathematics suggested that the students' achievement was comparable that of to nonimmersion peers in all areas except reading vocabulary, which was lower. Students also displayed positive attitudes toward the Hawaiian language and culture and toward learning Hawaiian and English. In summarizing these findings, Slaughter (1997) cautioned against overgeneralizing the results to other Kaiapuni students, as the first cohorts of any program tend to be self-selected and highly motivated. Unfortunately, funding has not been available to continue the program evaluation beyond these two cohorts and into the secondary level.

DISTINGUISHING FEATURES

Hawaiian-Medium Education

The most distinctive feature of Papahana Kaiapuni Hawai'i is its use of Hawaiian as the medium of instruction. In 1999, 11 Kaiapuni high school seniors became the first students since 1896 to complete their education entirely in Hawaiian. Creating a language-rich environment in the target language is important for any immersion program (Genesee, 1987, 1996). It is especially important for programs like this one, which use a target language that is threatened with extinction. Given that the dominant societal language (English) is so pervasive in students' lives, school may be the only context where they are exposed to complex and extended use of Hawaiian.

Integration of Hawaiian Knowledge and Values

Kaiapuni's goals include the development of a high level of proficiency in the Hawaiian language and a strong foundation in Hawaiian culture and values. All Kaiapuni students study Hawaiian history, culture, and values. In addition, teachers use pedagogical practices that are consistent with traditional Hawaiian values.

Promotion of an Indigenous Perspective

The Hawaiian studies curriculum used in nonimmersion public schools has been criticized for presenting a biased Western and colonial perspective on historical events (Kaomea, in press). By contrast, the Hawaiian studies curriculum in Kaiapuni classrooms presents an indigenous perspective on Hawaiian history and culture that depicts Hawaiians as a contemporary people and includes an indigenous perspective of Hawaiian history (Garma et al., 1999; Kaomea, in press).

Hawaiian knowledge is also incorporated into the Kaiapuni curriculum through an emphasis on the Hawaiian concept of *malama 'aina* (taking care of the land). Many Kaiapuni teachers use *malama 'aina* as a major theme of their curriculum. The concept of the *'aina*, or land, is traditionally very important to Hawaiians. Kaiapuni students learn the significance of the names of places where they are from, where they live, and where they go to school. Hawaiian place names are culturally significant because they denote important stories and other historical lessons about the islands (Pukui, Elbert, & Mookini, 1974). Together with their teachers, Kaiapuni students explore the boundaries of the particular *ahupua'a* (traditional division of land that extends from the mountains to the sea) associated with the location of their school (Garma et al., 1999).

Fostering of Hawaiian Relationships

Kaiapuni teachers believe that their relationships with their students are different from those of other teachers in the public schools (Yamauchi, Ceppi, & Lau-Smith, 1999a). In Kaiapuni schools, personal relationships intertwine with more formal school relationships. These relationships are close and more like those of extended family. Many teachers spend a great deal of off-duty time with their students. Kaiapuni teachers maintain close relationships with their students after the students move on to higher grade levels.

Teachers in the Kaiapuni program also promote student-student relationships that are consistent with Hawaiian sibling relationships. Traditionally, siblings in a Hawaiian *'ohana* (extended family) are very close and may interact more with one another than they do with adult *'ohana* members. The Hawaiian proverb *Nana i waele mua i ke ala, mahope aku mākou, na poki'i* (he [or she] first cleared the path, and then we younger ones followed; Pukui, 1983, p. 247) reflects the respect and affection younger Hawaiians have for their eldest sibling. Older siblings, in turn, are encouraged to look after their younger brothers and sisters and to teach them and supervise their work. Kaiapuni teachers incorporate the values associated with these sibling relationships by organizing heterogeneous and multiage groupings for many of their activities.

Inclusion of Indigenous Teaching Practices

Kaiapuni teachers use both modern instructional practices and more traditional Hawaiian pedagogical methods. In some cases, traditional Hawaiian teaching practices are consistent with more contemporary instructional approaches. For example, many Kaiapuni teachers use activities that encompass the Hawaiian proverb *Ma ka hana ka 'ike* (in working one learns; Pukui, 1983, p. 227). These lessons are designed to actively engage students in hands-on activities and demonstrations. This approach is grounded in a traditional Hawaiian way of teaching and learning. It is also very consistent with contemporary constructivist approaches to learning that emphasize the importance of students' active role in the construction of knowledge (DeVries & Zan, 1995; Prawat & Floden, 1994).

Many Kaiapuni teachers also incorporate another Hawaiian proverb in their teaching: *'A'ohe pau ka 'ike i ka hālau ho'okahi* (knowledge is not taught at the same school; Pukui, 1983, p. 24). This proverb embodies the idea that learning should come from many sources, both inside and outside the classroom. Along these lines, Kaiapuni teachers often engage their students in real-world activities, making use of community resources and the natural environment. Again, these practices are consistent with contemporary U.S. perspectives on community-based education and the movement to create meaningful, authentic educational activities (Engeström, 1991; Tharp, 1997). Finally, traditional Hawaiian teaching and learning practices often emphasize the performance of newly learned skills (Pukui, Haertig, & Lee, 1972), an approach that is similar to contemporary educational practices emphasizing authentic and performance assessment (Brown, Campione, Webber, & McGilly, 1992; Wiggins, 1993).

Kaiapuni teachers also use some traditional Hawaiian teaching methods that differ from contemporary instructional practices. For example, traditional Hawaiian teaching emphasizes memorization and recitation (Pukui et al., 1972). Recitation is emphasized when Kaiapuni students learn traditional *oli* (chants), *mele* (songs), and *ka'ao* (legends).

Use of Technology

Because the Kaiapuni program is spread across five islands, program developers have used technology to facilitate the dissemination of information to students and teachers. Many schools use a computer bulletin board system in which the computer interface and user interactions are all in Hawaiian (Warschauer & Donaghy, 1997). Students and teachers across sites e-mail each other to share information and to interact with other Hawaiian speakers. In addition to electronic communication, technology in the form of video production has facilitated course delivery and in-service activities for teachers at Kaiapuni. The DOE recently distributed a science videotape series, dubbed and translated in Hawaiian from an English science series. Via the local community cable television station, the DOE also recently offered a professional development course to Kaiapuni teachers that presented video clips of best practices in Kaiapuni classrooms and interviews with featured teachers.

PRACTICAL IDEAS

Some of the lessons learned from working in the Kaiapuni program are actually lessons Hawaiian *kūpuna* (ancestors) learned long ago.

Build the Program on a Strong Cultural and Community Foundation

> O Ke kahua mamua, mahope ke kukulu. (The site first, then the building; Pukui, 1983, p. 268)

Papahana Kaiapuni Hawai'i developed from a large, bureaucratic state system. During the program's early years, developers tried to make Kaiapuni entirely equivalent to the English program. More recently, however, many Kaiapuni staff and parents have realized that different does not have to mean inferior. It is the uniqueness of Kaiapuni, not its similarity to other mainstream educational programs, that makes it a viable educational program.

Creating a strong foundation for a program like Kaiapuni requires dependence on the wisdom of *kupuna* (elders and ancestors) in order to determine the program's focus, that is, those things that are culturally important to people connected to the language. Although some schools have relied on Hawaiian-speaking *kūpuna* to act as program consultants and language resources, in general *kūpuna* and other community members have not been systematically involved in the program. Building a strong foundation also includes gaining broader community support. Increasing Kaiapuni's base of support to include more people from the Hawaiian community and from the broader community increases program ownership so that more people have a stake in the program's success. It also broadens the perspective of what it means to be Hawaiian, ensuring that the program is built on a strong and wide foundation of cultural tradition and knowledge.

Establish High Standards

> Kulia I ka nu'u. (Strive to reach the highest; Pukui, 1983, p. 205)

In planning an effective indigenous language immersion program, program developers should have a clear understanding of their program's educational, cultural, and language goals. Educators should hold students to high academic standards so that the program becomes known for its academic excellence. When the Kaiapuni program first began, Hawaiian language use and acquisition were sometimes emphasized over other academic goals. Many parents of the Kaiapuni lead classes were happy that their elementary-school-aged children were learning Hawaiian and accepted the fact that students would not be exposed to some academic content because it was not yet available in Hawaiian. However, as students moved into middle and high school, there were more concerns about what students were missing because the curriculum had not been developed in Hawaiian.

Kaiapuni educators have dealt with the lack of materials in Hawaiian in a number of ways. In some cases, Kaiapuni high school students attend English-medium mathematics and science courses while receiving instruction for their other classes from a certified teacher who is proficient in Hawaiian. At other secondary sites, Kaiapuni teachers use an integrated approach to curriculum by developing units that combine a number of content areas (e.g., social studies, science, and mathematics). Teachers of these integrated units are proficient in Hawaiian and usually certified in one or two of the content areas encompassed in the lessons. Finally, at some sites teacher learners in university teacher education programs assist in teaching and developing curriculum for various content areas in the secondary program. These college students are proficient in Hawaiian and collectively bring a broad range of expertise across many different content areas.

A discussion of high standards should also include a discussion about a program's goals for the target language. An unspoken goal of the Kaiapuni program is to create a new generation of native speakers who use Hawaiian in all aspects of their lives. If this goal is to be realized, Kaiapuni's academic setting cannot be the only context for Hawaiian language use. There must be support for the language at home, thereby creating another context for language use. Activities outside of school must provide additional contexts for language use. The survival of the Hawaiian language should be a common goal for society, a shared vision of the community at large, and not a burden for the Kaiapuni teacher alone.

Act Immediately

> 'A'ohe 'ulu e loa'a I ka pōkole o ka lou. (No breadfruit can be reached when the picking stick is too short. There is no success without preparation; Pukui, 1983, p. 25)

Success in developing an L2 immersion program is dependent upon the availability of appropriate, high-quality curriculum, materials, and teachers. However, for

Hawaiian and other languages threatened with extinction, the availability of these resources only worsens with time. In these cases, program preparation should begin immediately. When Kaiapuni began, there was not a lot of time to prepare curriculum, materials, or teachers. However, if efforts had not begun when they did, the Hawaiian community would be even further away from its vision of developing Hawaiian-medium education based on Hawaiian values and knowledge. Communities in which the target language is primarily used by older people have no time to waste on waiting for the best time to begin preparing for a language immersion program. Later is never better.

CONCLUSION

Each year, Papahana Kaiapuni Hawai'i continues to expand as the demand for bilingual education with Hawaiian as the primary medium of instruction increases. Those involved in the program recognize the difficulty of trying to develop such a revolutionary program inside a relatively bureaucratic structure. Many Kaiapuni educators and supporters believe that the program must attain more autonomy from the DOE in order to facilitate progress, which is sometimes impeded by the policies and procedures of the state system. In the future, the Kaiapuni schools are likely to attain more autonomy, perhaps by becoming charter schools within the public system.

The future of Papahana Kaiapuni will likely include the development of stronger resources in the form of teachers and curriculum. The recent development of teacher education programs designed specifically to prepare Kaiapuni teachers has contributed to the availability of certified teachers who are proficient both in Hawaiian and in immersion teaching methods. Many Kaiapuni students have expressed interest in becoming immersion teachers. After graduating from Kaiapuni high schools, these students will enter college already proficient in Hawaiian, creating a cadre of potential immersion teachers with a strong background in the language. The movement to create curriculum from both existing Hawaiian text and new materials developed in Hawaiian should lead to a curriculum that is more grounded in Hawaiian values and knowledge.

A greater vision is the impact Kaiapuni educators, students, and their families will have on the society at large. As Kaiapuni students graduate from high school, they put pressure on universities to create course work that is appropriate for speakers at their level and to offer courses outside of the Hawaiian language and Hawaiian studies programs that are taught in the native language. Likewise, in the broader community, the increasing number of Hawaiian speakers will create a demand for other professions, beyond education, to respond to the growing number of Hawaiians who choose to live their language and who would like to have services provided in Hawaiian.

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Puanani Wilhelm has taught in the Kaiapuni program on the islands of Hawaii and Kaua'i and began her teaching career in 1987 as one of the first two Hawaiian immersion teachers. She is currently the State of Hawai'i Department of Education's specialist for the Hawaiian Language Immersion Program.

CHAPTER 8

Balancing Tradition and Modernity: A Natural Approach to Māori Language Revitalization in a New Zealand Secondary School

Richard A. Benton

INTRODUCTION

Maori is the ancestral language of those New Zealanders, also now known as Maori, who are descended from the Polynesian voyagers who settled the country about 1,000 years ago. The Māori people now constitute just under 20% of New Zealand's total population, but the majority of them are native speakers of English. Maori was the sole New Zealand language (with a high degree of mutual intelligibility among the regional dialects) until regular contact with American and European whalers, sealers, traders, and missionaries commenced at the end of the 18th century, followed by colonization by the United Kingdom and massive immigration from the British Isles and, to a lesser extent, other parts of Europe after the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi in 1840. By the 1970s, Maori had attained the status of an endangered language, with few native speakers among young people (see Benton, 1997). However, at the same time, New Zealanders were becoming aware of the value of the language as a symbol of New Zealand's emerging national consciousness along with its central place in the culture and identity of the Māori people. The latter consideration especially led to a resurgence of activity to restore the language to a full range of communicative and symbolic roles. Educational initiatives became an important part of the revitalization agenda.

This chapter looks at a bilingual program at a secondary school, called here Kakariki College (a pseudonym), in a provincial township in northern New Zealand.[1] A high proportion of the people in the town, and the students in the school, are Maori. Kakāriki College has a partial immersion bilingual program in which selected subjects are taught through the medium of Māori, and others through the medium of English. The program extends over the first 2 years of secondary schooling (students aged 13–14). Participants in the program can continue to study the Maori language through the medium of Māori in the remaining 3 years of secondary schooling, but at that stage all other subject matter is taught through English.

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[1] Schooling in New Zealand is compulsory between the ages of 6 and 16, although most children start school at 5, and the majority now stay on after their 16th birthday. Secondary school covers the 9th–13th years of schooling, with most students aged between 13 and 17. *College* is a common designation for a high school.

There are two sets of lessons to be learned from this program. First, planning is not much use when the conditions for successfully implementing such plans do not exist (in this case, for heavy and unremitting attention to be paid to developing knowledge of Māori vocabulary, including the host of education-related terms coined by various authorities). Second, it may be far better for bilingual programs to let the road unfold before them rather than to bulldoze their way along a theoretically predetermined path. The recommendation about vocabulary (along with other suggestions for a more systematic approach to facilitating Māori language acquisition) arose from an intensive but previously unpublished monitoring undertaken in the program's early stages, in the early 1990s. These lessons were learned by revisiting the program, which has continued to prosper and develop along much more relaxed and informal lines than might originally have been thought desirable. On reflection, the more ambitious plans of the past seem to have been unrealistic. The substantial achievements of a more flexible approach to bilingual education are laying the foundation on which, in time, the same goals of bilingual proficiency and Māori language revitalization may be attained.

CONTEXT

Bilingual education has had a checkered history in New Zealand. In the 1850s, the newly established colonial government made it a condition of government assistance to church-run schools for Māori children that English language and culture form a substantial part of the curriculum. A national system of elementary education for Māori children living in predominantly Māori communities, called *Native* (later *Māori*) *Schools*, was set up in 1868. After a period of 20 years of fostering what would now be called transitional bilingual education, the schools in this system became solely English-medium institutions. New Zealand education generally remained single-medium from then on, with a submersion approach to English language acquisition for those speaking other languages, including Māori (at that time, and until well into the 20th century, the dominant language in many rural communities). Secondary schools taught classical and foreign languages (principally Latin and French) as subjects, mainly to students destined for academic and professional careers. From the 1930s Maori also became a core subject at the church-run secondary boarding schools for Māori (and, after their establishment, the Māori district high schools in rural areas), compulsory for Māori children receiving government scholarships to attend these schools.

This English-only approach remained the norm until the 1970s and has yet to be seriously challenged except when the teaching of Māori is concerned. The movement for the maintenance and revitalization of Māori, which has led to much greater accessibility of courses in and about the language, contrasts with a general decrease in demand for language study. The majority of New Zealand secondary schools now offer Māori as a subject, and most primary schools and preschools also include Māori language activities in the curriculum. In 1986, Māori became an official language of New Zealand. It is the only language accorded this status by statute. English has its official status by common-law convention and as part of the country's colonial institutional heritage.

By 1997, within primary and secondary schools, 27,181 Māori (19.3% of all Māori enrollments) and 4,886 non-Māori (0.9%) students were receiving some Māori-medium education (including 9,548 Māori and 106 non-Māori students receiving more than 80% of their education in Māori). A further 25,528 Māori (18.1%) and 29,871 non-Māori (5.3%) students were learning Māori as a subject. Most of the students involved in Māori-medium programs (whether within a single- or dual-medium context) are still at elementary schools, but some of the Kura Kaupapa Māori (Māori-medium schools following a Māori cultural and organizational philosophy) have established secondary departments as their students have reached high school age. A number of mainstream high schools have also set up bilingual or Māori immersion sections or classes. One of the first of these mainstream programs is the focus of this case study. (For further discussion of these historical and background factors, see Benton, 1981, 1996; Benton & Benton, in press.)

The district in which Kakāriki College is located has a high proportion of families who identify themselves as Māori. Many of the outlying communities are traditional Māori settlements, and about half the people in the main township are of Māori ancestry. However, only a small proportion of the Māori population are fluent Māori speakers. In the census of 1996, about a quarter of the Māori population of the area stated that they could converse in Māori on everyday topics. The proportion who actually do this is undoubtedly smaller, and English is the dominant language in most homes, including those from which the students in the bilingual program are drawn, although a growing number of young adults are seeking to acquire fluency in Māori and use it as the home language. Outside the school, Māori would most often be heard by these students when they attend community gatherings (which are relatively frequent) or when visiting their grandparents and others of that generation who wish to encourage the revitalization of the language.

Like many such initiatives, the Kakāriki College bilingual program is located in a context of multiple agendas. From the point of view of the parents of most of the children involved, and the students themselves, the program has enabled students to extend into the secondary school the Māori-medium education they have received at primary school (or, in a few cases, the language they have been taught by parents or grandparents in their primary school years). From the perspective of some of the school administrators, however, the fundamental reason for setting up the unit and for its continued operation has been to provide a smooth and educationally enriching transition between a partly or wholly Māori-medium milieu at the elementary level and the predominantly English-medium milieu of New Zealand secondary education. These two perspectives are not irreconcilable, and, indeed, for most of the time it has been in operation, parents and administrators alike have given their support to the program because it has evolved in a way that has met both sets of expectations with considerable success.

Nonetheless, some parents would like to see the program move away from its present stress on bilingualism to become an immersion program in which English would have only a comparatively minor role. Reasons for this position include the belief that the Māori language is vital to Māori culture and identity, and its retention and revitalization on a large scale are essential if the Māori are to survive as a distinct people. In this context, Māori language activism is an integral part of a struggle to assert political and social self-determination. The idea that English is a "killer language" (by no means unique to Māori language activists) gives added weight to the "total immersion" argument. A widespread belief is that, because English is so pervasive and hegemonic in New Zealand society, children do not need to learn it at school.

However, a majority of Maori parents view English/Maori bilingualism as a desirable goal that can most effectively be achieved through dual-medium schooling. Thus far, although the future linguistic balance within the program remains an open question, the Kakariki program has retained its bilingual nature. A secondary program of the total immersion type has been started in the town as an outpost class of a secondary school located in another district. Although this may have decreased the number of potential students for the case study program, it has not threatened the program's viability.

Students

Generally, 20–25 new students are admitted to the program each year. The students in each project class have come from a wide range of linguistic, educational, and social backgrounds. The unifying thread, however, has been a commitment on their part and that of their families to the idea of Maori language revival through a truly bilingual approach to education. Testing done in the early years of the program indicated a wide range of achievement in both English and Maori among these students. On standardized tests of English reading vocabulary, reading comprehension, and listening comprehension, the range was between the 10th and the 40th percentile, with the median about the 20th. This is not atypical of the achievement levels, as measured by such tests, of Maori students entering secondary schools in many parts of New Zealand. On a test of Maori vocabulary, a "wasp-waisted" pattern appeared, with half achieving scores between 65 and 116 out of a possible 220 and the rest scoring between 140 and 167.

Overall knowledge of Maori among new entrants to the program today is likely to be higher, as more of them have had exposure to intensive instruction in Maori at the contributing primary schools. In operational terms, in the mid-1990s about half the students would have had very basic vocabularies and would have had considerable difficulty talking in Maori about anything at length or about topics other than personal, home, or family themes touched on at primary school. Others might have had wider vocabularies and the ability to talk at length on matters of personal and tribal identity. They would also have been able carry on a reasonably fluent conversation on everyday topics, although they would often have to switch to English when giving a detailed description or a complex explanation. This situation has changed gradually over the years, and although there is still a wide range of familiarity with spoken Maori among new participants in the program, some are able to speak quite volubly in Maori on a variety of everyday matters. The norm is more like the upper level of the first groups of students. However, English is still the first and dominant language for almost all students, and their ability to understand Maori is considerably in advance of their productive use of the language.

Needs

The analysis of data on student's knowledge of English and Maori in the early stages of the program made two things obvious: (a) There was a very wide range of achievement on all measures—Māori vocabulary knowledge (as measured by the Māori Picture Vocabulary Test) and English reading vocabulary, reading comprehension, and listening comprehension (as measured by the Progressive Achievement Tests); and (b) for many students, there was no relationship between their current knowledge of English and Māori language as measured by these tests. (The Māori Picture Vocabulary Test was a research instrument developed in 1983–1984 along similar lines to the U.S. Peabody Picture Vocabulary Tests, but the vocabulary items were selected from frequency analyses of children's speech and writing in Māori and reading materials commonly used in Māori language classes; the Progressive Achievement Tests are standardized tests used widely in New Zealand schools.) The first set of samples of written work in English and Māori collected from these students showed exactly the same kinds of variation.

All students thus needed help to expand their knowledge of Māori, some to a much greater extent than others, but many also needed the same kind of help with academic English. Although, as already noted, students are now coming to the program with a much greater knowledge of Māori, for most English is still the stronger language. Students still need to be able to expand their capabilities both in Māori and in academic English so that they can cope with the requirements of the secondary school curriculum. The program continues to address this need, directly through what is done in the secondary school classroom, and also through close liaison with parents and with the primary schools from which a majority of the students come.

A further need, also of long standing, has been to enable students to comprehend sustained oral discourse, whether in English or Māori. Teachers observe that many students find it hard to follow complex instructions or to grasp the thread of a story or narrative. A lot of energy has been devoted to enabling students to develop the ability to listen with comprehension, starting with where they are on arrival and devising situations in which the importance of paying attention becomes increasingly apparent.

Probably the current (not potential) ability of students to function freely in Māori over a wide range of topics has been the greatest constraining factor over the years. The National Curriculum guidelines for Māori language achievement in immersion situations set *Kōeke* (Level) 5 as the minimum required for being able to handle the Year 9 curriculum entirely in Māori. Criteria for assessment at *Kōeke* 5 include obvious fluency, correct stress and intonation, spontaneity, competent participation with adults, and ability to handle conversations on less familiar topics. In the early stages of the program, it was estimated that probably only 2 of the 25 children in the first-year class would actually have met those criteria. Although a higher proportion, perhaps as many as half, now enter the program with this level of general competence, some are still far behind. However, by the end of the first year of the program, a majority of the students have advanced considerably toward achieving the *Kōeke* 5 goals. Of these, spontaneity is generally the most difficult for many to attain, although all make considerable gains in confidence and at least latent capacity to range more widely in oral expression on what would have been less familiar topics earlier in the year. These gains are consolidated in the second year, when many students are observed to make large gains in confidence and expressive ability.

DESCRIPTION

The Kākāriki College Māori-English bilingual program is offered to students in the first 2 years of secondary schooling, Years 9 and 10 in the 13-year New Zealand elementary and secondary school system (students aged 13–14). It functions as a program within the larger school. All first-year students in the school are exposed to a wide range of subjects so that they can choose two or three as options in their second year with some insight into what these subjects are about. These first-year, noncore courses are primarily 6-week modules of 3 hours a week. The options include Māori language. In the second year at the school (Year 10), students study for the full year the options they have selected.

In terms of subjects taught, the students in the bilingual program follow the same curriculum as do other students at the school. The difference between the program classes and others lies in (a) the Māori cultural ambience characteristic of the program, (b) the use of Māori as a medium of instruction in certain core subjects, and (c) the participation of all students in Māori as a subject in Year 10 (for nonbilingual program students, Māori is simply one of a number of options that can be chosen). For Māori as a subject, many bilingual program students are placed in advanced classes, often Year 12 or 13, in their second year.

In the Māori language courses (for both bilingual and other programs), Year 9 and 10 students are expected to be able to (a) describe themselves, their families, and their environment and (b) speak and write on topics familiar to them. Year 11 students work toward a wide range of skills-related outcomes based around reading, writing, speaking and listening, and mastery of grammatical structures. Years 12 and 13 retain skills-based outcomes, with their implementation directed to students exploring the Māori world, tradition, and performing arts. The curriculum in Years 11–13 is also tied in to various external examinations and qualifications. The Year 10 bilingual students who participate in the advanced classes may also take these examinations. In fact, some of them have already gained the Year 11 qualification when they enter the project in Year 9.

Since the inception of the program, students have been taught the core subjects of mathematics and social studies through the medium of Māori. Since the late 1990s, science (at this level an introductory mixture covering chemistry, physics, and biology) has also been taught through Māori. English has always been an English-medium subject. Physical education, art, and music, also core subjects for the first 2 years of secondary schooling, have sometimes been taught in Māori and sometimes in English. The same has applied to the electives. Usually at least some of these have been taught through Māori, and the distribution of classroom time over the 25-hour school week has been fairly evenly balanced. The subjects for the first year (Year 9) in equivalent hours per week over a school year are shown in Table 1.

Since the second year of the program, there have been two teachers attached primarily to the bilingual program, which enabled core science to be added to the Māori-medium list. The teaching of physical education, art, music, and various optional subjects through Māori has depended on the availability of suitable teachers and also on logistics. In 2000, for the first time, none of the elective subjects was taught through the medium of Māori at Year 9.

In the second year of the bilingual program (Year 10), social studies, mathematics, science, and Māori language are taught through Māori. At this stage Māori language

TABLE 1. SUBJECTS TAUGHT IN THE FIRST YEAR OF THE BILINGUAL PROGRAM

Subject	*Hours per Week*	*Medium of Instruction (in 2000)*
Core subjects		
Mathematics	4.0	Maori
Social Studies	3.0	Maori
Science	3.0	Maori
Maori	1.0	Maori
Physical education	2.0	English
English	4.0	English
Music	1.0	English
Art	1.0	English
Electives		
Computer studies	1.0	English
Economic studies	0.5	English
Health	1.0	English
Typing	0.5	English
Home economics	1.0	English
Graphics and design	1.0	English
Workshop technology	1.0	English

is a full option, at 3–4 hours a week, bringing the total amount of Mäori-medium class time to 12–13 hours a week. In Years 11, 12, and 13, there is no full bilingual program. Only Maori language is taught in Maori (4 hours per week), and all other classes are mainstream (i.e., English).

The content of the curriculum is fundamentally that laid down in the national curriculum guidelines for the subjects concerned. However, the way the subject matter is approached is sometimes very different from what might be expected in a conventional classroom. This has always been the case for the bilingual program, simply because of the different medium used and the need for teachers to be creative in assembling suitable course materials (because very few published resources are available for Maori-medium instruction at this level).

Since the late 1990s, three developments together have greatly strengthened the program. The first of these has been the incorporation of an approach to teaching mathematics developed by an innovative telecommunications engineer-turned-educator, Choon Tan (see Tan, 1996), not only in the mathematics curriculum but also in science, social studies, and Mäori language. The second is the preparatory work being done at the primary schools from which most bilingual program students come, and the third is the abandonment of a strict insistence in "doing everything through Mäori" in the Mäori-medium content subjects. Instead, Mäori is used as the medium to explain many mathematical and scientific concepts while the conventional English scientific terminology is retained (rather than adopting the newly coined official terms, which few native speakers recognize). Each of these factors is described in more detail in later sections.

These three factors have combined to enable the program to become a joyous and effective way of enabling all participants to increase their competence in everyday spoken Māori, to learn more about the language and its use in a wide range of genres (including writing for various purposes), and to gain the confidence and mastery of content necessary for them to make further progress both in learning secondary school subject matter through English and to take advantage later of opportunities to increase their fluency in Māori.

DISTINGUISHING FEATURES

Language and World View

Within the total school context, what distinguishes this program from others is that the Māori language is used for a wide variety of general purposes (i.e., for learning about mathematics, sciences, current affairs, and often other areas of the curriculum such as economics, computer studies, and art). Māori as a subject is part of the school curriculum, but with a focus on the Māori language as a means of expressing and reflecting personal and Māori-oriented concerns. It is thus a language arts course open to all but embedded in the ethnic culture whose world view the language encapsulates.

The Role of Code Switching

A second distinguishing feature of the program is what might be called a *bicultural grasshopper* approach to language acquisition. Some New Zealanders refer to frequent switching from Māori to English and back again in a conversation as *grasshopper Māori*. This form of code switching is common around the world when bilingual individuals are talking to one other. The Kākāriki College grasshopper approach makes free use of English technical and scientific vocabulary without adaptation or substitution, both when introducing these ideas in the course of a lesson and when talking about the relevant subject matter later. At the same time, it incorporates metaphors and allusions that reflect and reinforce target language (Māori) concepts and cultural practices by relating them creatively to the new ideas.

Most teacher talk is in Māori, but many students listen to, read, and write Māori more often than they speak it, in or out of class. Judging by the relative success of these students in external assessments in the upper-level classes, this approach appears to enable them to receive comprehensible input and eventually, with wide individual variation, to gain the confidence to produce comprehensible output. Although unfortunately there is not yet any research evidence to support this hypothesis, the lack of pressure on students to perform orally in Māori may also be enabling them to acquire a form of Māori closer to that of older native speakers (such as their teachers) than would otherwise be the case. This would contrast with a new Māori protocreole or interlanguage that seems to be developing among young second language learners of Māori in some districts. In the first year of the case study program, when students were actively encouraged to interact with each other in Maori whenever possible, a visiting elder once quite sincerely complimented the teacher on his skill in making the children fluent speakers of Samoan. He had been listening to a group of students chatting animatedly in Maori, and because he discerned that they were speaking a language with a Polynesian lexicon but with a different structure, vocabulary, and intonation from anything he could recognize as Maori, he assumed that it must be a different language.

Because they wish to enable students to master a form of Māori that will enable them to communicate easily with the older generation of Maori speakers, the teachers in this program have chosen to teach content, especially in mathematics and science, without using newly coined terminology. As one of them said, mathematics has a language of its own, and because resources and future learning in this area are likely to be through the medium of an international language, there is no need to clutter the students' memories with large sets of parallel terms. Thus, when talking about right-angled triangles, he does not hesitate to say "ko *hypotenuse* te ingoa mo te taha roa" (*hypotenuse* is the word for the long side), rather than using the official coinage *taroa*. Although *taroa* is derived from *taha roa* (long side) and therefore has a degree of transparency, the term is also potentially misleading, because not every *taha roa* is a hypotenuse. Wherever possible (and this is almost everywhere), new ideas are related to Maori concepts and traditional imagery. This factorization, like *hypotenuse*, is not translated but explained by an observation such as "me whakapapa te whika nei" (we'd better work out the genealogy of this number). This links *te ao Maori* (the Maori world) to the world of modern science and mathematics.

The Choon Tan Approach to Learning

Another distinguishing feature is the Choon Tan approach. Tan's ideal school is one where

> children would be free to move between subjects and difficulty levels at their own pace. There would be no homework and no tests. Age would be used only as an initial guideline, but children would move through schooling at their own pace, so age differences become largely irrelevant. (Tan, 1996, p. 103)

To a very large degree, the bilingual program follows this principle in regard to the Maori language curriculum and in the subjects taught through Maori, although homework and tests are incorporated to conform with requirements of the national education system. But another aspect of Tan's philosophy has been implemented both in a highly successful, out-of-school voluntary mathematics catch-up and enrichment program (in English) for primary and secondary school students, and, at this college, for all subject matter taught through Maori.

Standard approaches to teaching almost anything, and particularly to teaching science, mathematics, and the formal aspects of language study, generally assume that certain basics must be mastered first and then built on quite systematically until a certain threshold is reached, when independent learning can take over. Fundamentally, Tan and his colleagues believe that interest and curiosity are always the major motivating factors and that one can open a mathematics, or any other, textbook at any page and start from there, learning what one need to know from the situation one is placed in. Such an approach liberates gifted and enthusiastic teachers from the shackles of an artificial and often counterproductive order.

Thus, an elementary mathematics lesson could start with quadratic equations—what they are, what one can find out through them, how to formulate and solve them. There is a big emphasis on learning by doing. Teacher talk is kept to a minimum. The ideal (which is indeed followed in practice in the program) is 2 minutes of instruction followed by 10–20 minutes of student work, with the teacher available for help and advice. There is an emphasis on *how* to begin with; the *why* comes as the practical skill increases. New topics are chosen at random from the relevant syllabus. The national guidelines are complied with, but not in a specific order. The effects of this approach have been positive. Students' interest in academic work has increased markedly, in English-medium as well as Maori-medium subjects, and many previously reluctant learners have become highly enthusiastic about mathematics, a subject that was formerly regarded as one they could never cope with and had no interest in even trying to learn.

A similar approach is taken to the Māori language. Many activists worry about the purity of the language being passed on to the next generation and spend a great deal of time trying to keep all "contaminating" elements from teaching materials and teacher talk. In the process they risk taking much of the joy out of language acquisition and may actually widen rather than narrow the gap between the older generation of native speakers of the language (when there are some) and the younger generation through whom they are trying to regenerate it. The future of a language like Māori is most likely to be assured if it is both loved and used as a natural means of communication in those domains which are closest to people's intimate lives—home, family, neighborhood, community, life crises, spirituality, expressions of joy, friendship, intimacy. In the process, because a gap has existed between generations in the use of the language for those very purposes, the new generation is likely to reconstruct the language in its own way, eventually creating a new language (as indeed has happened in Israel with modern Hebrew). But in the case of languages like Māori, because native speakers are still around, a concentration on gently reacquiring the language in its more domestic genres, rather than vigorously modernizing it, may in fact slow down the divergence between the old language and the new by making it easier for the generations to talk to each other directly. The formal study of the language as a subject, with its classical orientation, can also help in this process, particularly if it concentrates on making subject matter with which the preceding generation is familiar accessible and interesting to the young. This seems to be what the Kākāriki College program is doing, with steadily increasing success.

PRACTICAL IDEAS

Strengthen Literacy Preparation

For some years, children from Māori-medium schools tended to have a limited command of Māori, coupled with inadequate literacy skills in English. They had been used to rote learning and relying heavily on teacher direction, and although they had highly developed skills in Māori song and dance, their academic skills and background knowledge were generally below what might have been expected after

8 years of elementary schooling. The teachers at Kakariki College worked closely with teachers and parents at the feeder primary schools to try to remedy this state of affairs. Their efforts were supplemented in some schools by assistance from university researchers and support-service personnel who enabled the schools to initiate two approaches to developing literacy skills in Māori and English. These were the *pause, prompt, praise* (PPP; in Māori *tatari, tautoko, tauawhi*) technique (see Glynn, 1995) and *responsive reading* (cf. Glynn et al., 1998).

PPP is a cooperative experiential approach to reading instruction in which a parent or more proficient fellow student mentors and encourages growth in reading competence by helping students practice problem solving and take opportunities to recognize and correct their own errors. The tutor waits before indicating that something has not been read correctly (to give time for self-recognition that an error has occurred and self-correction). The tutor then prompts readers to use various strategies to work out what has been misread (using contextual as well as phonic clues) and praises efforts at correction, whether independent or prompted.

Responsive reading has been used successfully to develop and enhance both English and Māori literacy. Written material is sent to a respondent who is fluent in the language concerned; the respondent writes a response to it. This exchange transforms what might be a routine, fairly meaningless exercise into a genuine communicative act. Instead of receiving their own manuscripts back with checks and crosses, the students receive a letter or commentary in response. This may model better ways of expressing certain notions, but fundamentally it is an acknowledgment of the worth of the first writer's efforts and the beginning of a dialogue that will extend the learner's command of the written form of the target language. The process is an iterative one, with the dialogue continuing through the school year. The student essentially maintains a journal in correspondence with a friendly adult.

As a result of the work in the primary schools, new entrants to the program now arrive with a much better command of Māori than their predecessors did. In previous years, teachers had to do a lot of backtracking in English to make sure that the majority of students understood what was being taught through Māori. As Māori became much less of a problem, the difficulties that some children had with English were highlighted, and at one elementary school the combination of PPP and responsive reading, along with *structured brainstorming* (i.e., encouraging students to consciously search for alternative ways of expressing various ideas), has proved effective in raising the level of achievement in academic English.

Set Realistic Parameters

For many years the pattern in the program was for the teachers to talk mainly in Māori (with backtracking in English, as noted above), but often the students would respond in English. Because most of the background material for the various Māori-medium subjects was (and still is) in English, students generally have written in Māori more than they have had the opportunity to read. The more fluent speakers often held back from expressing their ideas orally in Māori because so many of their classmates found it difficult to do so. Now that more students are fluent speakers and the level of Māori language competence among the students is generally higher, students use oral Māori more actively in the classroom. However, many still choose to reply to questions or participate in discussions in English, and as the emphasis is on communication of ideas, no one is forced to speak Māori in most situations. The one regular exception to this principle is in the Māori language curriculum, in which those who want to question someone who has given a presentation in Māori (a regular feature of the program) must do so in Māori.

A typical classroom day begins and ends with class notices—information about special events, any changes to the usual routine, special duties, messages about meetings to be relayed to parents, deadlines to be met, and so on—given mainly or entirely in Māori. Sometimes an important notice might be emphasized through partial repetition in English. All the regular routine instructions, as well as evaluative comments and so on, are given in Māori. The teacher introduces and discusses subject matter in Māori, but, as noted above, with English technical terms used freely in place of their official equivalents. Thus an opening phrase like *anei tō mātou kaupapa ko quadratic equations* (our topic for now will be quadratic equations) would be a typical start to a mathematics lesson. The teacher would introduce the subject matter, ask and answer a few questions, and then set the students to work, moving around the work groups encouraging and giving help when needed. Most teacher talk is in Māori, with frequent rephrasing to ensure that it has been understood. Many students ask questions or make comments in Māori, some speaking carefully, perhaps being prompted by another student if they cannot think of a word they need, others with ease and confidence. Other students start off in Māori and then switch to English, or simply preface an English question with a Māori beginning (e.g., "*Matua* [uncle], does it have to be a right-angled triangle to have a hypotenuse?").

The materials that students work from are mainly in English, although they are encouraged to make notes in Māori and write about social studies topics in Māori. However, the only situation in which Māori is compulsory for students is in the Māori language classes. Even here, though, the reason is as much social as pedagogical. When a student asks another a question about a talk given in Māori, the requirement that the question has to be in Māori is meant to ensure that the questioner has to make the effort to frame a sensible question rather than take a cheap shot in English at someone who has had to struggle to prepare a presentation in Māori. All in all, well over half of the public classroom interaction in the Māori-medium classrooms is in Māori. Students talk to each other in English, Māori, or a mixture, depending partly on the topic and its complexity. For example, an exchange like "Ai, kei hea taku pene?" "Ana!" (Gee, where's my pen? Right there!) would be quite typical even when one or both of the students were not very confident speakers, but a problem in solving a quadratic equation might more typically be commented on in English.

CONCLUSION

In the early stages of the Kākāriki College Māori/English bilingual program, it was clear that the lack of basic vocabulary was a major impediment to the students' learning through Māori. However, there was also clear evidence that most students were learning, and indeed many of those involved in the program at that time (and subsequently) gained highly creditable results in the subjects studied through Māori. It appeared that in many cases these results were achieved through the development of highly sophisticated coping strategies that enabled the students to rely on knowledge gained through English while temporarily acquiring the vocabulary and structures necessary to express that knowledge in Māori in highly specific contexts without greatly deepening their overall command of the Māori language.

What has happened since is fundamentally the evolution of a way of coping with this situation by turning it to the learners' advantage. The program has built on and built up existing English skills and has allowed the command of Maori (which has increased anyway as a result of work done in primary schools) to grow naturally and in as stress-free an atmosphere as possible. Much attention has been given to creating an ambiance that reinforces the Māori cultural values the program seeks to nurture, such as *manaakitanga* (reciprocal respect and kindness), *aroha* (active concern for one's own and others' well-being), and *whanaungatanga* (family and social relationships), while enhancing bilingual language acquisition and academic success. School administrators outside the program are certain that without it many children would not have thrived. It has had a very positive effect on the students and on the school. The combination of autonomy and integration characterizing the place of the program in the college has given the participants in the program the best of both worlds.

The program has worked through some very important questions. For example, is the aim of teaching mathematics (irrespective of the linguistic medium) to make children mathematicians, or is it to enable them to grasp mathematical fundamentals, kindle an interest in mathematics, and develop an ability to do things with mathematics so that later in life, *ā te wā* (in the fullness of time), when they want and need to, they will be able to go further? So also with the acquisition of Māori. A certain vagueness about the technical details of teaching through Māori in this program seems quite appropriate. The unforced development of positive attitudes to the language and the development of abilities appropriate to the current situation seems sensible and entirely appropriate.

This attitude has not resulted in the creation of students with limited skills in many areas but highly developed skills in none. Bilingual program members have become stars of the school's (English-medium) mathematics competitions. In the advanced levels of Māori language instruction (in which many bilingual program students participate), serious attention is given to expanding knowledge of how language should be used in various genres and contexts. Obviously, programs such as this would be greatly strengthened by better material resources, in particular by a wide range of reference materials and also interesting recreational reading matter in Māori. However, this study also shows that within a socially supportive atmosphere, a great deal can be achieved with somewhat meager resources. The essential ingredients in the program have been long-term support from the school administration; gifted and highly innovative teachers in the classroom; good, cooperative relationships with contributing elementary schools; and effective liaison with parents of present and future students. The strength of these links bodes well for the future of this program and others like it. It is only to be hoped that a sudden increase in official attention to English/Māori bilingual education, and particularly to ways of assessing achievement through Māori-medium programs, does not end up restricting the creativity through which programs such as this one survive and prosper.

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CONTRIBUTOR

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CHAPTER 9

The Seventh Generation of Kahnawà:ke: Phoenix or Dinosaur

Kaia'titáhkhe Annette Jacobs and Aronhie:niens Edward J. Cross

INTRODUCTION

> *Culture is living the language; language is living the culture.*
>
> The Prophecy of the Seventh Generation

> *Seven generations after contact with Europeans, according to the prophecy of the Seventh Generation, the Onkwehón:we [the true people] would see the day when the elm trees would die. Huge stones would tear open the face of the earth. The rivers would burn. The air would burn the eyes of man. The fish would die in the water. And man would grow ashamed of the way he had treated his Mother and Provider, the Earth.*
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> *Finally, according to the prophecy, after seven generations of living in close contact with the Europeans, the Onkwehón:we would rise up and demand that their rights and stewardship over the earth be respected and restored.*
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> *According to the wisdom of this prophecy, men and women would one day turn to the Onkwehón:we, and particularly to the Eastern Door of the Iroquois Confederacy, the Kanien'kehá:ka, for both guidance and direction.*
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> *The children of the Kanien'kehá:ka are the seventh generation.*
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> Blanchard (1980, n.p.)

In this chapter, we describe a Mohawk immersion program for children who grow up in the Mohawk community of Kahnawà:ke, outside Montreal, Canada. This program aims to restore the Mohawk language in the community and to instill pride in Mohawk culture through bilingual education of its children. The children who participate in this program come to school speaking English, and the program's goal is to develop their proficiency and pride in Mohawk. After having successfully survived nearly 500 years of European contact and nearly 200 years of government programs of assimilation, acculturation, and annihilation, the people of Kahnawà:ke have courageously taken action to revive their endangered language and culture. The creation and development of the Mohawk immersion program was a critical step in this direction. The Mohawk people are caught in a revolution that is cultural and linguistic as well as sociological; they are at a turning point in their history as a distinct people and nation.

CONTEXT

Kahnawà:ke Mohawk Territory

Kahnawà:ke is a Kanien'kehá:ka (Mohawk) community founded in 1680 as a Jesuit mission for Iroquois and Algonquin Catholic converts. It was later established as the Seigneury St. Louis by the French in 1762. The territory is situated 10 kilometers southwest of Montreal on the south shore of the St. Lawrence River, across the river from the Island of Montreal. The Mercier Bridge, which links Kahnawà:ke to the city of Montreal and surrounding communities, runs through Kahnawà:ke. Kahnawà:ke is surrounded by predominantly French-speaking communities. The present population of the Mohawks of Kahnawà:ke is approximately 8,500: 6,800 living within the territory, and 1,700 living outside. Kahnawà:ke is a trilingual community—English is the main language of communication, Kanien'kéha is spoken by about 10% of the community, and less than 5% speak French.

The Kahnawà:ke Education Center

The Kahnawà:ke Education Center was established in 1980 to administer all locally controlled education programs and services previously administered by the Mohawk Council of Kahnawà:ke. The center administers and operates four community schools (each described briefly below): Karonhianónhnha tsi ionterihwaienstáhkwha (the immersion program), Kateri School, Kahnawà:ke Survival School, and the Alternative Middle School. It also administers all programs and services for Mohawk students attending elementary, secondary, and postsecondary schools or special educational institutions in the greater Montreal area.

The Kahnawà:ke Combined Schools Committee

The Kahnawà:ke Combined Schools Committee was established in 1968 through the unification of two religious school systems: the Catholic schools and the United Church Federal Indian Day Schools. The Unification Agreement and a Mohawk council resolution recognized the committee's right and responsibility to oversee all educational programs, services, and funds in the community. Community parents approved a new constitution in 1997 significantly changing membership from denominational representation (i.e., religious affiliation) to representation by schools from the community and outside. The committee, which includes 12 parents, is mandated to supervise all developmental and operational activities of the Kahnawà:ke Education System. It develops and approves policies and procedures, supervises the operation of the center and the community schools, makes recommendations for planning and funding high-quality programs and services, and delegates financial and administrative management of the education system to the Kahnawà:ke Education Center. The committee works closely with the administration and staff of the Education Center in achieving the goals of Kahnawà:ke education (see Figure 1).

Other Schools in the Community

Kateri School

Kateri School is the community's English primary and elementary school. It had an enrollment of 300 students in kindergarten (full-day) through Grade 6 in 1999–2000. Students are grouped in single-level and multiage classrooms. Seventeen of 27

- To develop an understanding of self through the learning of Kanien'kéha language and the culture of Kanien'kehá:ka
- To develop respect and appreciation for the gifts of the Creator and to acknowledge thankfulness through the Ohén:ton Karihwatéhkwen (The Traditional Thanksgiving Address)
- To develop values of respect, trust, sharing, peace, brotherhood, harmony, and justice
- To learn, appreciate, and use the French language as a necessary means of communication with people of neighboring communities
- To develop a mastery of mathematics skills to solve problems to deal with daily situations
- To understand and appreciate the achievements of all peoples in the natural sciences, the social sciences, and the arts
- To develop and promote creativity through a variety of activities and experiences
- To develop a cooperative attitude toward learning, working, and living in a group and in a community
- To develop an ability to examine and evaluate constructively the opinions and situations of other peoples
- To nurture independent and responsible behavior
- To promote self-sufficiency and self-determination through academic, recreational, and vocational orientation and training

Figure 1. The Goals of Kahnawà:ke Education

(65%) of the teachers and 34 of 44 (77%) of the full-time staff are Kanien'kehá:ka from Kahnawà:ke. The teaching staff includes French, Mohawk (30 minutes per day), physical education, and resource teachers. Part-time student service consultants are also contracted to work in the school. Kateri School provides Kahnawà:ke children with an education that is characterized as culturally relevant, holistic, developmental, experiential, student-centered, cooperative, inclusive, inviting, spiritual, and trilingual. The integrated program of studies is based on Kaianere'ko:wa (The Great Law) and the Ohén:ton Karihwatéhkwen (The Thanksgiving Address).

Kahnawà:ke Survival School

The Kahnawà:ke Survival School was Kahnawà:ke's first completely community-controlled school and its first high school. It was established in September 1978 by parents, students, and other community members in reaction to the Quebec law that made French the only official language of the province. The school is situated on 154 acres in a distinctive, campus-style arrangement of buildings and facilities. The site, located on Kahnawà:ke's eastern boundary, was built over the site of Kanatakwenke, the fourth settlement of the Kanien'kehá:ka, in 1696. The high school is actually three schools in one.

The Middle School, housed in the Complex, a multipurpose building on the school's campus, had an enrollment of 90 students in 1999–2000. A team of six homeroom teachers teaches English, mathematics, sciences, and personal/social education in the Grade 7 and 8 transitional program. Program specialists teach other subjects. Mohawk, also a compulsory subject, is taught 45 minutes a day. There are three multiage classes.

The Senior School, with an enrollment of 110 Grade 9, 10, and 11 students, like the Middle School, offers an unusual program of studies that parallels the Quebec provincial curriculum. It is enriched with specially designed courses, materials, and activities that teach, promote, and support the Kanien'kehá:ka language, history, culture and traditions. Forty-five minutes per day is devoted to teaching the Mohawk language and culture. The Senior Vocational School includes the carpentry construction program, which prepares 24 Grade 9, 10, and 11 students for work in the construction industry.

The Kahnawà:ke Survival School (under the authority of the Kahnawà:ke Education Center) issues diplomas (an academic diploma, a high school–leaving diploma, a vocational certificate, and a life skills certificate) that are accepted by Quebec's junior colleges and by colleges in other Canadian provinces and the United States.

Fourteen out of 29 teaching staff (48%) and 34 out of 52 full-time staff (65%) are Kanien'kehá:ka from Kahnawà:ke. Part-time student services consultants are contracted to work in the schools.

The Alternative Middle School

The Alternative Middle School was established in September 1997 through funding from the First Nations Education Council. (*First Nations* refers to the indigenous peoples of Canada.) The school was created to meet the needs of a maximum of 16 Grade 7, 8, and 9 students between the ages of 12 and 15 who had not experienced complete academic success because of social, emotional, or behavioral difficulties. The school offers a core middle school curriculum based on Quebec Ministry of Education objectives for language arts, mathematics, French, Mohawk, social studies, science, and personal/social education. Mohawk is taught twice a week for a total of 2 hours.

DESCRIPTION

The Early 1970s: Preimmersion

Prior to 1970, the only thing native in Kahnawà:ke schools was the child. There were no native teachers, content, history, stories, songs, or pictures. Most notably, there was no Mohawk language. This lack had a very negative impact on students' identity and self-image. An important reason for creating the Mohawk immersion program was to reverse this state of affairs not only by immersing children from Kahnawà:ke in the Mohawk language but also by surrounding them with native teachers, content, history, culture, pictures, and stories.

The initial step in the creation of this program was the introduction of Mohawk language instruction on a much smaller scale. In September 1970, due to the efforts of a small group of parents and a sympathetic nonnative school principal, the two Kahnawà:ke primary and elementary schools began teaching the Mohawk language for 15 minutes every day in all grades. Three dedicated, fluent Mohawk speakers from the community were asked to take on this challenging teaching assignment.

They applied for and received a small grant from the Canadian Department of Cultural Affairs to cover their minimal salary. These people had no training and no materials, but what they did possess was the conviction that the teaching of Mohawk was long overdue. They also planted a seed.

In 1972, a milestone year, the University of Quebec at Chicoutimi began offering the Amerindian Teacher Training Program, initiated by the Kahnawà:ke Combined Schools Committee and funded by the Quebec Office of the Federal Department of Indian Affairs. Five Mohawk speakers from the community enrolled in a program that was originally designed to award a specialized teaching certificate. The program was eventually modified so that those who wished to complete a bachelor of education degree were able to do so. These first language (L1) teachers initially developed pedagogical materials for the Kahnawà:ke schools. In the summer of 1972, linguistics students working with people from Kahnawà:ke produced the first grammar workbook, entitled *She:kon Wa:ri*. Kanien'kéha language instruction was increased from 15 minutes to 30 minutes a day in 1976.

In 1973, five student language teachers established a standard orthography for the Mohawk language for use in the schools as part of a course taught by Marianne Mithun, one of the few linguists with extensive knowledge of Iroquoian languages. The writing system that had been used prior to this was based on a method of writing established by Jesuit priests in the 1700s. There were few conventions in place for those using the Jesuit system, so that if there were four teachers in a classroom, there would be four different ways of writing the same word. Such confusion made clear the need for the standard orthography developed by Mithun and the student teachers.

The Mid-1970s: Kanien'kéha Becomes Firmly Established

Another important step in the evolution of the Kahnawà:ke school system came in 1976. A survey conducted by the National Museum of Man in Ottawa, Canada, reported that the Mohawk language was endangered. The general perception of the community had been that the language was still being learned and used widely, so the results of the survey came as a surprise. The survey motivated people who were interested in the Mohawk language to do something to preserve it. As a result, in the following year, a group of Kahnawà:ke college and university students developed a collection of Mohawk instructional materials as a summer employment project. The students produced primers, charts, games, legends, and a calendar, all under the direction of a dynamic Kanien'kehá:ka teacher, Karihwén:hawe (Dorothy) Lazore. These materials were to be used in Mohawk partial immersion classes.

The Late 1970s: Immersion Pilot Project

It became increasingly evident that the program in place would not achieve the goal of teaching the children to communicate in Kanien'kéha. Accordingly, in September 1979, the Kanien'kehá:ka Raotitióhkwa Cultural Center sponsored a pilot project using total immersion in a half-day nursery class. Thirty parents volunteered their 4-year-olds for the project. The students who completed the total immersion nursery year continued on to half-day, total immersion kindergarten the following year.

Early 1980s: Partial Immersion

The next year, 15 of the 30 students went on to partial immersion in Grade 1. These students continued in a partial immersion program in Grade 2 with 2 hours of Mohawk instruction per day. Teaching materials for Grade 1 and subsequent grades were prepared by parent volunteers, under the supervision and coordination of the Kanien'kéha teacher. In 1983, the Canadian federal government provided funds to hire a Kanien'kéha curriculum coordinator. Many textbooks and other materials were produced during this period although, unfortunately, many were direct translations of English textbooks and workbooks; consequently, they were not very useful in the immersion setting. In 1983, a permanent Kanien'kéha Language Curriculum Center was established as part of the newly established Kahnawà:ke Education Center. The center received some funding through a Canadian Manpower program, which enabled the hiring of a staff member.

Raines (1983), who carried out one of the first systematic studies of Kanien'kéha in Kahnawà:ke and community schools, pointed out that linguistic competence does not guarantee language usage and that a language must be used actively if it is to survive. She recommended (a) the establishment of a central agency to coordinate and focus language promotion activities in order to enhance language retention; (b) a census of the Mohawk speakers in the community, their actual language usage, and the attitudes of community members toward the use and restoration of Mohawk; and (c) a study of the way the community used and spoke English in relationship to Mohawk in order to better understand the status of both languages and the challenges faced by children learning and using the language in community schools. These conclusions and recommendations should have been a wake-up call for the community, but they were not addressed seriously until much later, in the 1990s.

Mid-1980s: Total Immersion

In September 1984, a Kanien'kéha total immersion program was established in the nursery school, kindergarten, and Grade 1. The program was housed in a school of its own: Karonhianónhnha tsi ionterihwaienstáhkwha. Total immersion was extended to Grade 3 in 1985 as students were promoted from Grades 1 and 2. In Grades 4–6, students received their first formal instruction in English and French as well as a Kanien'kéha maintenance program: English was taught 2 hours a day; French, 20 minutes per day; and Mohawk, 2 hours per day. The first graduates of the Kanien'kéha total immersion program completed their elementary program in 1989.

An innovative pilot project was developed and implemented in 1985 with special funding from the Canadian Department of Indian Affairs. Ten qualified teachers with some Kanien'kéha fluency were selected from community schools to participate in a 1-year immersion program. Karihwen:hawe (Dorothy) Lazore was recruited to teach the 10 students with occasional assistance from other fluent speakers and consultants. The objective was to teach the language to teachers who were already trained and experienced and who would then fill immersion teaching positions. The project produced 1 Kanien'kéha teacher and 9 teachers who were able to reinforce the Kanien'kéha language in their classes and activities.

The 1990s

During the 1990s, two surveys were conducted on the status of the Mohawk language in the community and people's views toward using and preserving it. In particular, Hoover (1996), from the Laboratory for Applied Cognitive Science, McGill University, and the Kanien'kehà:ka Raotitióhkwa Cultural Center jointly conducted a questionnaire survey of 1,000 households in Kahnawà:ke in 1991. One hundred seven households (or 10% of the total sample) completed the questionnaire. Fifty-three, or 14.5%, of the respondents reported that they were monolingual Mohawk speakers, and 160, or 43%, reported that they spoke Mohawk along with another language. In the 20- to 30-year-old age group, there was an evident dip in ability to speak, read, and write Mohawk. In contrast, the majority of the population over 50 years of age were fluent speakers of Mohawk. Nearly every respondent (94%) felt that language was either very important or important for cultural identity and spiritual expression. Sixty-eight percent of the respondents felt that Mohawk would help them better understand the environment; 70%, to better understand the Kaianere'ko:wa (The Great Law); and 77%, to understand customs, tradition, and laws of Kahnawà:ke. Most people felt that the schools should not be solely responsible for the survival of the language; they felt that the language should be promoted at cultural events, that services in the community should be offered in Mohawk, and that language courses should be available to community members who do not speak Mohawk.

A telephone survey conducted in 1992 by the Kahnawà:ke Kanien'kéha Ad Hoc Committee similarly revealed strong support for preservation of the language; for example, most respondents favored the use of Mohawk on public signs in the community. An overwhelming number of respondents thought that, generally speaking, the language was important to extremely important. Most respondents also supported the creation of a permanent body to address all language matters, such as a language commission, a language institute, or a advisory council composed of elders from the community. However, there was not much agreement on specific mechanisms to protect and promote the language.

The Immersion Program

The immersion school, which accepts 32 new students in the nursery program each year, had an enrollment of 260 students in prekindergarten (nursery) through Grade 6 in the 1999–2000 school year. The school also houses the Kanien'kéha Owén:na Otiohkwa Curriculum Center, which is responsible for developing, producing, distributing, and evaluating all Kanien'kéha materials used in all Kahnawà:ke community schools. Twenty-one of 22 teachers (95%) and 42 of 43 (96%) full-time staff at the school are Kanien'kehà:ka from Kahnawà:ke, including the 5 full-time staff of the Curriculum Center. The teaching staff includes Mohawk, French, physical education, and resource teachers. Part-time student services consultants are contracted to work in the school. The school offers a half-day immersion nursery program for 4-year-olds and a full-day (5-hour) immersion program in kindergarten through Grade 4. In Grades 5 and 6, the program is primarily in English for most of the 5-hour day, with Kanien'kéha language maintenance of up to 1 hour a day. French is taught as a third language for 1 hour a day. The student-teacher ratio in all Mohawk immersion classes is 16:1, with a full-time teacher assistant in all nursery, kindergarten, and Grade 1 classes and a half-time teacher assistant in Grade 2, 3, and 4 classes. The ratio of students to Mohawk-speaking staff is 6:1.

Auditory comprehension and oral fluency are the primary goals of the program in the nursery, kindergarten, and Grade 1 classes. Two fluent adult speakers (the teacher and an assistant) use dialogues to model conversation while the students echo the dialogues during homelike activities and outdoor activities. Total physical response is also used as a strategy to reduce or eliminate the use of English.

The Ohen:ton Karihwatehkwen (Thanksgiving Address) is taught using pictogram charts. An innovative Mohawk phonics chart is used to teach beginning letter-sound associations and identification. Reading and writing are introduced in kindergarten and Grade 1 using dialogues and word charts. Paper-and-pencil activity books using cloze techniques reinforce the dialogue activities and word charts. Beginning number identification and math concepts are taught with charts and manipulatives. The curriculum development team writes and produces all culturally appropriate teaching materials and workbook.

The program of studies in Grades 2, 3, and 4 parallels the provincial English program of studies. The curriculum development team uses the language arts, mathematics, science, and social studies objectives of the provincial program as basic references for the development of teacher guides, student texts, and workbooks. Listening comprehension and speaking continue to be the primary focus of all activities in these grades, balanced with reading and writing activities.

Throughout the development of the language program at Kahnawa:ke, one of the biggest challenges faced was the lack of pedagogical materials in Kanien'kéha. Developing Kanien'kéha materials has required the time and effort of professional educators as well as community members. The development of Mohawk language materials began in the early 1970s with the codification of Mohawk based on Mithun's work and with the writing of a linguistically sound grammar workbook that has become a reliable teacher resource. Since that time, both curriculum and teaching materials have been developed steadily. For example, in 1986, two outstanding Kanien'kéha teachers were released from classroom duties to develop social studies, science, and language arts objectives in Kanien'kéha.

A collaborative effort between Kahnawa:ke and curriculum developers in Kanehsata:ke, a neighboring Mohawk community in Quebec, began in 1992 to write and publish Kanien'kéha books. To date, this joint venture has resulted in the publication of five books. In addition, a mathematics program (Pereira & Peckove, 1981) is currently being translated into Kanien'kéha. The Curriculum Center uses every available resource to create relevant materials for the students. Quebec Ministry of Education guidelines, commercial textbooks, workbooks, charts, games, songs, audiovisual materials, magazines, and computer software are all translated and used to make learning colorful and interesting for students. Professionals, teachers, community people, and especially elders are consulted in developing curriculum and materials. The modus operandi of the staff of the Curriculum Center is to adapt what is adaptable, borrow what can be borrowed, and create the rest.

The burden of providing proper educational materials falls on the Curriculum Center. With input from teachers, the members of the center produce everything needed for instruction, from less tangible necessities, such as pedagogical objectives and strategies, to the more tangible necessities, such as games, songs, checklists, charts, posters, flashcards, maps, textbooks, workbooks, videos, slide presentations, and film strips. Often, the curriculum team creates materials using Kanien'kéha legends and stories. The work of the Curriculum Center staff is far from complete and is continuously under revision. The challenge now is for the team to use today's technologies to develop and adapt materials that will keep pace with the sophisticated learning styles of today's children.

DISTINGUISHING FEATURES

A distinguishing feature of the immersion program in Kahnawà:ke is the extensive and varied research that has been conducted by researchers in Kahnawà:ke and Montreal to examine its impact.

The McGill Studies: 1984–1988

Between 1984 and 1988, researchers at McGill University conducted a series of longitudinal studies concerning the immersion program in Kahnawà:ke (Chartrand, Holobow, & Lambert, 1986; Genesee, Holobow, & Lambert, 1987; Holobow, 1988; Holobow, Lambert, & McGilly, 1984). Their research compared the academic and English language achievement of immersion students to that of students in English-medium classes, as measured by standard achievement tests. Students were matched by grade level, nonverbal reasoning skills, and oral language functioning. The results consistently indicated that there were no significant differences between the English and mathematics achievement of the immersion students and that of students in nonimmersion classes. Predictably, the reading and writing skills of students in immersion classes showed some delays in the grades that preceded formal English reading and writing instruction. These differences disappeared once the students had received formal English language arts instruction. The results of this research indicated that participation in the Mohawk immersion program did not adversely affect the English and mathematics achievement of the participating students.

First Assessment of Results

Howard (1998) carried out the first systematic assessment of the Mohawk language results of the Kanien'kéha immersion program. The McGill studies had not examined the Mohawk language skills of the participating students, and previous Mohawk language assessments had consisted of informal classroom observations by curriculum staff, school administrators, or fluent elders or consultants' informal reports on immersion students' fluency and pronunciation in Mohawk. Howard's research consisted of two interrelated dimensions. The first focused on the nursery through Grade 3 immersion program and students' ability to produce fluent Mohawk. The second focused on the fluency and literacy abilities of the Grade 4 students.

The overall objective of this research was to determine whether students could use Kanien'kéha as a means of communication in situations appropriate to their age, needs, and interests. To this end, Howard developed fluency and literacy tests after a search of the literature on language development and an analysis of the communication skills of fluent 9- to 10-year-old Kanien'kéha L1 speakers. The language used in all assessments was appropriate to the age of students being assessed and corresponded to the level of language development expected of a student in Grade 4 who had followed the immersion program of studies at Karonhianonhnha for 6 years. One guiding principle of this evaluation was that students learn Kanien'keha:ka gradually and that errors are an integral part of the learning process. In developing fluency, the students are still capable of clear communication despite errors and moments of hesitation.

The test developed for the Grade 4 students had four sections. The oral fluency subsection, weighted at 10% of the total assessment, assessed rote memory of the language; the oral reading subsection, also weighted at 10% of the total, measured independent reading; literacy (weighted at 30%) was assessed through knowledge of vocabulary, word usage, and written vocabulary; and conversational fluency (50%) was assessed by discourse competency. Comprehension was not assessed separately because it was an integral part of every subsection.

Howard's (1998) main conclusions and implications follow.

- The oral fluency results indicated that the students were performing exceptionally well in learning the language.
- The oral reading results indicated that the students were able to pronounce the language easily; however, Howard recommended that the words used in the primary grades be made more comprehensible to instill a love of reading among the children. The report also recommended that teachers and curriculum developers entertain the students with stories written at a level that the children can understand, enjoy, and retell.
- The literacy results confirmed that the students were learning appropriate vocabulary; however, the program needs to do more work in the area of language usage and creative writing.
- The conversational fluency results indicated that the students easily understood the language they heard and read; however, their errors in spoken language were redundant, and they had not fully mastered the minor grammatical distinctions that a native speaker would know almost instinctively.

The Grade 4 students had developed enough discourse competency to meet their needs in the immersion classroom. They were able to learn content such as mathematics and science through Kanien'kéha. Some even revealed a level of discourse fluency that was close to or identical to that of a native speaker. However, one major area of weakness became apparent when students were asked to retell a story that was unfamiliar to them. This suggests that the students may not be transferring their language skills from the classroom into real life as readily as they should be.

Howard (1998) concluded that "Karonhianonhnha's Kanien'kéha Immersion program has been very successful in producing many students as fluent as native speakers and mostly students who are close to the fluency of native speakers. The challenge remains on the school and the community to work together to find ways of maintaining the fluency attained by the students" (p. 24).

PRACTICAL IDEAS

Kanien'kéha Tewatati: A Project About Our Language (Horne, 1996) was a community initiative sponsored by the Mohawk Council of Kahnawa:ke, Shakotiia'takehnhas Community Services, and the Kahnawa:ke Education Center. Its purpose was to identify what was missing in Kahnawà:ke Mohawk language retention efforts. It further identified an entity to fill this perceived gap. The results of this project would ultimately provide a foundation for creating a stable and long-term strategy for preserving and maintaining the Kahnawà:ke Kanien'kéha language heritage. Recent research in Canada has concluded that only four aboriginal languages are viable (i.e., have a large enough population of speakers that long-term survival is relatively assured). Kanien'kéha is not on that list of viable languages. Kahnawà:ke children are learning the language, but they are not using it outside school. Recent studies have indicated a fluency level of 10–16% in Kahnawà:ke, and the community perceives a decline in the quality of the language.

Horne's (1996) project was divided into two major phases. Phase I described the linguistic situation and needs of Kahnawà:ke and made some fundamental recommendations in regard to future actions and initiatives that are crucial to the strengthening and preservation of Kanien'kéha.

Address Gaps in Students' Language Competence

To strengthen and preserve Kanien'kéha, immediate action must be taken to address the gaps in children's language competence that have been identified and to enhance their conversational fluency.

Publicize the Issue of Language Promotion and Preservation

A second recommendation was to give a much higher profile to the issue of language promotion and preservation in the community.

Promote Language Learning and Use in the Community

The community has reached a critical point when it must deal with the issue of language. The window of opportunity to do so in a substantive manner is steadily and surely closing. As indicated in language reports and surveys conducted by the Assembly of First Nations (1990), language initiatives must come from the community. The complicated and often difficult nature of language retention and maintenance indicates that individual First Nations must truly desire to preserve and commit to preserving languages.

The challenge for the Kanien'kehá:ka community and leadership is to realize that the responsibility lies with the community itself. We cannot afford to wait for new government initiatives that may never arrive. Our challenge is to act now to ensure a long-term approach to protecting the Kanien'kéha linguistic heritage.

Develop a Community Language Plan

One important and unprecedented initiative by the community to preserve its language and culture was brought to fruition on December 20, 1999, with the passage of the Kahnawà:ke Language Law (Kaianerenhserón:ni ne onkwawenna'ón:we aóntston ne Kahnawà:ke; Mohawk Council of Kahnawà:ke, 1999), making Kanien'kéha the official language of the Mohawks of Kahnawà:ke within the territory of Kahnawà:ke. The purpose of the law is to revive and restore the Kanien'kéha language as the primary language of communication, education, ceremony, government, and business within the Mohawk territory of Kahnawà:ke. The law, which was to be fully implemented within 2 years, was a direct result of lobbying by a group of elders who were involved in the establishment of the Onkwawen:na Kanien'keha Language Center (see below).

Establish a Language Entity That Is Linked to the Community

Phase II of *Kanien'kéha Tewatati* (Horne, 1996) recommends the creation of a Kahnawà:ke Kanien'kéha Language Center. It suggests a specific set of strategies for creating this new entity and outlines and addresses its purpose, activities, organizational requirements as well as funding and financial considerations.

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> We the Elders of the Kanien'kehà:ka People of Kahnawa:ke, fearful of the loss of our beautiful Kanien'kéha language, do hereby make this solemn declaration.
>
> We are determined to remind the people of the importance of reviving, restoring, and perpetuating our language.
>
> We strongly urge and encourage the Mohawk Council of Kahnawà:ke to be the first to exercise and implement our Kanien'kéha language with all of their employees to set the example for Kahnawà:ke and all its other organizations.
>
> In keeping with our time honored Kanien'kehá:ka tradition, we strongly urge and encourage that all areas of business, work, and leisure are to be conducted in the Kanien'kéha language, thus, we again urge and encourage the use of our Kanien'kehá:ka language.
>
> Also in accordance with our Kanien'kehá:ka tradition, we urge and encourage that the Mohawk Council of Kahnawà:ke conduct their meetings in the Kanien'kehá:ka language and, as well, we urge and encourage that future leadership be knowledgeable in the Kanien'kehá:ka language.
>
> Lastly, we urge and encourage that all Kahnawa'kehró:non make the strongest and most determined effort to learn, use and live our Kanien'kehá:ka language. (Mohawk Council of Kahnawà:ke, 1999, p. 1)

CONCLUSION

There is a popular saying among the elders in Kahnawà:ke, always intoned in Kanien'kéha, that if you cannot speak Mohawk, you are not Mohawk. It took 500 years for the Kanien'kéha language to come to the brink of extinction. The *Indigenous Languages in Canada* report of the Museum of Man (Foster, 1982) that classified the Mohawk language as an endangered language was a wake-up call for those

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community members active in language development and promotion. The forecast was bleak, according to linguists. A language that is endangered is highly likely to become extinct by the next generation if nothing is done to revive, rejuvenate, and restore the language to the status of a language used by all generations in a community.

The education committee has been the only agency in the community to make language and culture its primary goal. It has been 30 years, just over one generation, since Kanien'kéha was introduced in Kahnawà:ke schools for 15 minutes a day. The Kanien'kéha language is not extinct. The Kanien'kéha language is still endangered. And the Kanien'kéha language in Kahnawà:ke will be revived, rejuvenated, and restored for the Seventh Generation.

The education community in Kahnawà:ke welcomes this partnership with the Mohawk Council, community organizations, and the rest of the community in taking responsibility to preserve, promote, and use the Kanien'kehá:ka language. Although it can be argued that education under the jurisdiction of the Canadian federal government was a major contributor to the loss and near extinction of the language, education under the control of the parents of Kahnawà:ke beginning in the early 1970s was responsible for reviving, restoring, and perpetuating the language. The primary goal of education in Kahnawà:ke's community schools is the development of Kanien'kehá:ka students' self-concept and self-esteem through learning of the Kanien'kéha language and culture.

The Kahnawà:ke Language Law, the establishment of the Onkwawén:na Kanien'kéha Language Center, the critical importance of implementing action plans focused on improving the Kanien'kéha language program from the *Blueprint of the Future of Kahnawà:ke Education* (1999), the renewed mandate of making Kanien'kéha the focus of Kanien'kehá:ka Raotitióhkwa Cultural Center, and overwhelming support from the people of the territory will bring life back to the Kanien'kéha language. The Mohawk immersion program and the future generation of children who will be Mohawk speakers as a result of their education in this program are critical for the revival and survival of the language.

CONTRIBUTORS

Kaia'titáhkhe Annette Jacobs earned a BEd in 1981 through the Amerindian Teacher Training Program offered by the University of Quebec. She has worked as a Mohawk language specialist, Mohawk immersion classroom teacher, and curriculum coordinator. She is currently principal of Karonhianónhnha Mohawk Immersion School and an adjunct professor at McGill University, in Montreal, Quebec, Canada. Her goal is to help foster a nurturing environment where children can learn Kanien'kéha language and culture while providing a quality education.

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PART 3

Learning an International Language Through Bilingual Education

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CHAPTER 10

English Immersion in a Japanese School

Mike Bostwick

INTRODUCTION

The immersion program at Katoh Gakuen, an early, partial English immersion program that aims to develop proficiency in Japanese and English among native-Japanese-speaking students, is the first bilingual program of its kind in an elementary school in Japan. The design of the bilingual program is based on North American models of immersion education with some modifications that take into account the distinctive features of the Japanese setting. Because it is located in Japan and conducted in a language that is very different from the students' primary language, the program provides educators with an opportunity to examine the generalizability of foreign language immersion models in non-Western contexts and in languages that are very different from each other.

CONTEXT

Anyone who has ever been involved in establishing an immersion program will attest to the immensity of the undertaking and the seemingly endless challenges that must be overcome (Cohen, 1974; Johnson & Swain, 1997; Met & Lorenz, 1997). One of the foremost challenges in instituting a new immersion program is allaying the fears and misunderstandings people may have regarding the proposed innovation. Although more than 30 years have passed since the first programs now called *immersion* began (Lambert & Tucker, 1972), immersion education is virtually unknown in Japan, and apprehension was high as we inaugurated the program at Katoh Gakuen. The initial prevailing sentiment was, "Sure, immersion may work when the languages are similar and in the North American context where the educational system and expectations are different, but surely it cannot succeed in Japan."

The application of immersion in North America has been well documented (Collier, 1992; Cummins, 1998; Day & Shapson, 1996; Genesee, 1987, 1994; Swain & Lapkin, 1982). The implementation of immersion education at Katoh Gakuen has provided a rare window into the dynamics of the Japanese educational system and some of the differences from the North American context. The following sections highlight some of these differences and provide the context for some of the challenges faced in establishing an immersion program in Japan.

Top-Down Educational Bureaucracy

Education in Japan is much more centrally controlled than in North America, with the Ministry of Education (Mombusho) determining most of what goes on in Japanese schools (Finn, 1987; Stevenson, 1991). Japan has a national curriculum, and it has been said with only slight exaggeration that, on any given day, nearly all students throughout the country are studying from the same page in their textbooks. In the West, innovation typically originates at the district or school level, and parents have in some cases organized and pressed for the introduction of an immersion program in their school or district. In Japan, parents and local school officials do not have the power to implement major innovations in their school. Change generally comes from the top. Fortunately, private schools are given a little more leeway, and regulations are interpreted somewhat more flexibly. This has enabled Katoh Gakuen to experiment with immersion and bilingual education as the Mombusho monitors the progress of the program without officially participating in or sanctioning its implementation.

Japanese and North American Education

Academic goals, expectations, and achievement patterns in North America are quite different from those in Japan (Lowe, 1991; New York State Education Department, 1992). Although controversial, international comparisons have repeatedly demonstrated that Japanese students far outpace North American students in academic achievement and that this difference can be seen as early as first grade (Stigler, Lee, & Stevenson, 1987; Takeuchi & Scott, 1992). Immersion has been demonstrated to be effective in a North American context, where the general level of achievement is, by most comparisons, significantly below Japanese levels (D. P. Baker, 1993; Stevenson & Stigler, 1992). If immersion programs in Japan were able to produce only the same level of achievement found in North America, Japanese parents would quickly abandon the program. To be successful in Japan, the immersion program must be able to produce students that are on par with nonimmersion students in Japan. In this regard, the expected academic outcomes of immersion programs in Japan may be higher than in many North American schools.

Teaching through a foreign language is also a challenge for foreign nationals unfamiliar with the Japanese curriculum. Japanese students are expected to cover a great deal of material within a relatively short period of time (Sato, 1991). The pace is quite fast, and the emphases on various points in the curriculum are very different than in North America. Assessment often reflects this emphasis, requiring students to demonstrate mastery of the process as well as the product. On math tests, students may be asked to not only solve a problem but also show all the steps taken to reach the answer. Often, the processes are unfamiliar to immersion teachers who are not Japanese (e.g., the correct stroke order for writing numerals or the exact steps taken to construct an angle with a compass), so the adjustment for foreign teachers teaching the Japanese curriculum through the target language can be very difficult.

Another factor that makes adjustment to teaching in a Japanese school difficult is that teachers generally are responsible for more extracurricular activities and duties. A number of researchers have documented the duties of Japanese teachers (Inagaki, 1993; Lewis, 1995; Peck, 1991; Rohlen & LeTendre, 1996; M. White, 1987). These duties include eating lunch with the children, playing with the children before and during school recesses, organizing many extracurricular events, visiting the children's homes, making preliminary visits to a field trip destination, developing huge packets of vacation homework, and writing detailed weekly newsletters for the parents. On top of this, teachers are generally expected to clean the toilet areas, garden and landscape around the school, and move equipment and furniture in the school. Although teachers might have any one of these responsibilities in North American schools, the fact that all these responsibilities fall to teachers is a shock for new foreign staff. Katoh Gakuen now provides support for teachers in some of these areas.

But of all the challenges that foreign teachers must face, the extreme importance placed on test scores is among the most difficult. Test scores and achievement testing are very important and often very sensitive issues to most Japanese parents. There is a tremendous emphasis on academic achievement, as measured by the name of the college one enters. Entrance to a top university is a sure ticket to the best job opportunities after graduation in Japan. Therefore, there is pressure from the time the child enters the school system to acquire the necessary skills to pass the demanding college entrance tests. Although not all parents fully support this type of exam-driven education, most do not want to penalize their children's chances for what has become the key determiner of success in Japanese society. This emphasis on test scores at all levels has a backwash effect on the pedagogy in the classroom, where all too often teachers try to cram as much information into the students as possible in order to prepare them for the difficult exams ahead (Bostwick, 1995b).

The Japanese School Calendar

Until recently, Japanese public schools held classes from Monday through Saturday noon. In order to provide students with wider experiences outside the school, the Ministry of Education is moving to eliminate Saturday classes, and from the 2002 school year public schools will do so. As of 1999, Japanese schools followed a modified weekly schedule with two Saturdays a month off. Katoh Gakuen follows a schedule that is similar to the public schools'.

The Japanese school year begins in April and ends in March, and students attend approximately 220 days of school during the academic year. Teachers work an additional 25 or 30 days to attend meetings, participate in staff development seminars, and take care of various administrative duties. Katoh Gakuen teachers follow a similar schedule and work approximately 250 days a year. Students attend school for approximately 200 full days and 25 half days. Teachers are required to be at school for an additional 25 days for meetings, parent conferences, and school events. Summer vacation in Japan is typically 5–6 weeks for students and 3–4 weeks for teachers. Compared with the approximately 180 instructional days (and 190 teacher work days) in most North American school calendars, this schedule represents a significant increase in the length of the academic year.

The extra half days on Saturdays and the long school year pose special challenges for foreigners unaccustomed to the Japanese school calendar (Benjamin, 1997). Teachers who are used to the 8–10 weeks of summer vacation and a 5-day work week in North America find the Japanese calendar very exhausting. Those who have not experienced the demands of teaching in a Japanese school often underestimate the impact of the long school week and long school year on the program and the teachers.

The fact that the school year starts in April also makes teacher recruitment very difficult. Most North American teachers are under contract until June, and teachers from Australia and the United Kingdom find the April starting date similarly inconvenient. This problem has caused Katoh Gakuen to move to two types of contracts, beginning in either April or September of each year, in order to fill all teacher openings. The result is that some teachers leave in the middle of the school year (at the end of the first term at the end of July) to take teaching positions at other international schools or to return home to teach. Unfortunately, the disruption caused by teachers coming and going in the middle of the school year is very hard on the students and makes it difficult to establish continuity in the instructional program.

The Linguistic Distance Between English and Japanese

Many linguists have documented the many differences between English and Japanese. As well as the vast differences between English and Japanese in phonetics, semantics, and syntax, the complex writing system of Japanese poses challenges for children learning to read and write in both languages. Written Japanese is a mixture of Chinese ideographs (*kanji*) and two Japanese phonetic scripts (*hiragana* and *katakana*). One must know all three to be able to read and write. *Hiragana* and *katakana* are composed of symbols that represent 46 different syllables. In the case of *kanji*, the characters generally represent one or more morphemes and are visually complex, requiring 1–23 brush strokes each. Japanese students are taught 1,945 standard *kanji* by the end of ninth grade (1,006 in elementary school). It is not uncommon for a sentence written in ordinary Japanese to contain *kanji* and symbols from both syllabaries. An additional feature of the language is that there are no spaces between any of *kanji* or symbols, and children must intuit which symbols must be grouped together to form a word. Furthermore, Japanese can be written from left to right (as in English) or from top to bottom, starting on the right.

DESCRIPTION

Katoh Gakuen is a private school including preschool to Grade 12 with an attached college. The total student population is approximately 4,000 students. The school is located in Numazu City, Shizuoka prefecture, about 120 kilometers south of Tokyo on the Pacific coast of Japan. The Japanese Ministry of Education and the Shizuoka Prefectural Board of Education accredit the school as a Japanese national school, and it follows the Japanese national curriculum.

The immersion program began at Katoh Gakuen's elementary school in 1992 and has since expanded into the preschool and secondary school. In the kindergarten, elementary, and secondary school buildings, there are two programs—the immersion program and a regular (i.e., nonimmersion) program.

The bilingual program at Katoh Gakuen is an early partial immersion program—an intensive form of content-based foreign language education. The chief characteristic of immersion education is the integration of academic curriculum content and foreign language instruction. Immersion teachers must design instruction so that the students understand content (be it math, science, or art) delivered in a foreign language and, at the same time, provide opportunities for students to develop greater proficiency in the target language. As of 1999, the school had bilingual students in preschool through junior high school and was preparing for the senior high school program as the leading class of bilingual students graduated from junior high. The primary goal of the bilingual program is to provide native-Japanese-speaking students with functional competence in English while maintaining high standards in Japanese language and scholastic achievement (Katoh, 1993). Nearly all of the students in the program are Japanese. The amount of English immersion experienced by the children varies depending on their grade level. Generally speaking, approximately one half to two thirds of their instruction is conducted through the medium of English. In 1998, the school had approximately 450 students in the program with 18 full-time foreign staff (Bostwick, 1998).

Program Pedagogy

Teachers use various strategies to make difficult content taught through the medium of a foreign language more comprehensible to students. The use of visuals (e.g., diagrams, photos, drawings, video), concrete examples, and hands-on activities greatly increases the comprehensibility of instruction through the target language in an immersion class. Effective instruction also requires careful lesson planning and adjustment of the language input provided by the teacher to the learners' needs.

However, making the immersion classroom comprehensible to students so that they achieve academically at the same level as nonimmersion students is only half the job of an immersion teacher. Teachers must also improve the students' proficiency in the target language and provide opportunities for students to produce language in writing and in speech. Integration of content and language and the development of students' productive language skills can be viewed as what might be called the *micro-* and *macrolevels* of instruction. Here are two examples of macrolevels of language instruction from the elementary program:

- During a Grade 1 unit on addition and subtraction up to 100, students go "shopping" at a toy store to "buy" and "sell" various items in English.
- In a Grade 4 science unit on electrical circuits, students design and create a toy using various battery circuits and then explain how their invention works to other students.

The teacher plans these projects to push students' language output. However, opportunities to develop students' productive skills often occur at the microlevel in daily interactions in the classroom. These interactions occur "in the trenches," so to speak, and are opportunities that an effective immersion teacher can exploit to develop students' productive language skills. Among the many strategies teachers may use are asking students to repeat or summarize what another student has just said, asking students to correct or rephrase an utterance to make it more targetlike, asking open-ended questions after the content of the lesson is understood, and requiring students to produce more than a simple short answer. At lower levels of language proficiency, students may be asked to repeat or chant sentences or questions poised by the teacher or to use pretaught sentence patterns with partners to ask and answer questions about the content of the class.

Program Levels

Preschool

The children in the preschool program range from 3 to 5 years of age. Most of these children arrive at school by about 10:00 a.m. and return home around 2:00 p.m. The children spend 50% of their time with an English-speaking teacher. Much of the curriculum aims to prepare the students for various school events. Art Gallery and Sports Day are major school events that require a great deal of preparation. At other times of the year, activities related to themes dominate the curriculum. Although the focus during the early years of the bilingual program is on developing students' listening comprehension skills in English, the students are introduced to initial English literacy skills in preschool.

Elementary School

In the primary elementary grades (ages 6–9), students spend approximately two thirds of the day in English-medium instruction. Of the 30 instructional periods each week in Grades 1–3, 20 are conducted in English and 10 in Japanese. Of the 10 periods in Japanese, 8 or 9 are devoted to Japanese reading and language arts (*kokugo*). Approximately 1 period a week is devoted to math story problems, drills, and quizzes in Japanese. Technical math and science terminology in Japanese is reviewed during this period. Although no content is retaught in Japanese at this time, the students practice math story problems in Japanese and learn the Japanese equivalents to the technical terminology learned in English. The Japanese teachers also use this time to assess math, science, and social studies knowledge in Japanese after the students have passed the end-of-unit tests on the English side of the program. This assessment is done to confirm that the students understand the technical terminology in Japanese for subjects taught in English. Underlying this practice is the need to demonstrate to parents that the children remain competitive with nonimmersion students in academic achievement.

The rest of the curriculum—six periods of math, six of life studies (science and social studies), three of physical education, two of art, two of music, two of English language arts, and one of computer—is conducted in English. From Grade 4, the students take half their classes in English and half in Japanese. Math, science, physical education, and computer science are taught in English. Language arts, social studies, music, and art are carried out in Japanese. Technical math and science terminology in Japanese is reviewed during Japanese language arts class (Bostwick, 1995a).

Junior High School

The bilingual program at the secondary level is located in Katoh Gakuen's Gyoshu Junior and Senior High School. In 1998, the lead class in the bilingual program was just completing Grade 8. The junior high comprises one bilingual class and three nonbilingual classes (class sizes range from 26 to 37 students). The percentage of instruction in English increases to approximately 60% in the first year of junior high. Math, science, geography, technology, and English classes are conducted in English; language arts, history, civics, physical education, art, and music are taught in Japanese. For 1–2 hours a week, Japanese teachers teach the Japanese equivalents of the technical and scientific vocabulary introduced during English-medium instruction in math, science, and geography. The Japanese teachers also review and assess students' understanding of these content areas in Japanese during this time to ensure that they can demonstrate their understanding of content on the mid- and end-of-term tests in Japanese.

All students take the same midterm and end-of-term tests in math, science, social studies, and Japanese. The difference is that the nonimmersion students take the tests in Japanese whereas the immersion students take half of each test in English, not knowing beforehand what aspect of the content or which part of the test will be in English or Japanese.

Elementary school graduates of the bilingual program may apply to enroll in the junior high bilingual program. Students who have returned to Japan from abroad or who otherwise have sufficient English skills may also apply. All students must pass the junior high entrance test, which assesses students in math, Japanese, and English. Approximately 80% of the students who graduate from the elementary immersion program choose to continue at the junior high level.

DISTINGUISHING FEATURES

Dual Accreditation

Katoh Gakuen was the first Japanese school accredited by the Japanese Ministry of Education to receive authorization from the International Baccalaureate Organization (IBO). Member schools of the IBO are internationally recognized leaders in education and provide students with an international standard of education. This dual accreditation has been awarded to Gyoshu Junior and Senior High School.

Since introducing the bilingual program at the junior high school in 1998, the school has worked to incorporate the IBO's Middle Years Programme (MYP) into the school's curriculum for bilingual students. An unusual feature of the Bilingual MYP program, which covers Grades 7–10, is the interconnections among the subject areas using five nonacademic themes, known as the *areas of interaction*, which are embedded within and visible across all areas of the curriculum: (a) approaches to learning (which concentrates on developing effective study skills), (b) community service, (c) health and social education, (d) environment, and (e) *homo faber* (man the maker, which is concerned with the products of the creative and inventive genius of people) (*Guide to the Middle Years Programme*, 1994). The integration of the Japanese national curriculum, as approved by the Japanese Ministry of Education, and the IBO's MYP is a first in Japanese education.

Translated Textbooks and Curriculum

Because the instructional program at Katoh Gakuen closely follows the curriculum guidelines of the Mombusho, the school was unable to find suitable textbooks published in North America that sufficiently cover the required curriculum. As a consequence, it was necessary to hire professionals to translate the Mombusho-approved math, science, and social studies textbooks as well as the curriculum handbooks and guidelines. At present, the school has translations of many of the math and science textbooks from Grades 3–8. In addition, sections of some of the curriculum teacher guides in these areas were translated. To my knowledge, Katoh Gakuen has the only set of fully translated English copies of the Mombusho-approved math, science, and geography textbooks from Grades 1–8 in the world.

Teacher Certification and Teacher Recruitment

Teachers in the Bilingual Program at Katoh Gakuen have been fully certified as teachers in their home country, yet none is eligible to receive certification to teach in Japan. Finding and keeping qualified staff has been a challenge for the school as a result of the certification issues in Japan. At present, as there are virtually no certification requirements for being an assistant English teacher in Japan, the foreign teachers in the bilingual program are classified as such and are assigned to a Japanese teacher at their grade level.

When starting the program, we sought teachers with elementary classroom teaching experience, some language teaching background (ideally a master's in TESOL), and at least intermediate-level proficiency in Japanese. Few teachers who applied actually met all of these qualifications. We have since learned that, above all else, a positive, flexible personality is critical for the teacher's successful adjustment to working in a Japanese school. As one staff member put it, "Flexibility is worth two master's degrees any day!"

Language and Communication

Another challenging area in implementing a program of this kind in Japan is language and communication. Most teachers in other immersion programs around the world are bilingual, at least to some extent, and able to communicate in the immersion and the home country language. By contrast, most of the immersion teachers have native-level proficiency in the target language but limited speaking ability in Japanese. Because of the difficulty of finding qualified immersion teachers who are also bilingual, communication in the school and with parents is often limited. Thus, teachers work cooperatively in teams at each grade level, and we try to make sure that at least one of the teachers is bilingual so that they can communicate with each other. Class newsletters go home to parents each week in both English and Japanese, translated by the Japanese teachers. Other staff members provide spoken and written translation as necessary to ensure that sufficient communication takes place within the school and with parents. Translation is often necessary for staff meetings, teacher-parent conferences, school handbooks, memos, and other school information.

Parents' Motivation

Since the inception of the immersion program, parents have expressed a number of reasons for enrolling their children. To get an idea of the relative importance of these reasons in the minds of parents, at the end of the third year of the program we asked the parents of Grade 1–3 students rank the program objectives by their importance (see Table 1). The results were somewhat surprising for us. Contrary to our expectations, "the ability to communicate in English" did not rank highest. The relatively high ranking given to being "able to think independently, logically, and critically" was also somewhat unexpected. The results of the survey indicate that the parents consider mastering grade-level content, developing critical thinking skills, and learning to cooperate with others higher priorities than learning to communicate in English.

TABLE 1. GRADE 5 PARENTS' RANKING OF PROGRAM OBJECTIVES

Program Objective	*Rank*
Master the subject content at their appropriate grade level	1
Be able to think independently, logically, and critically	2
Be able to work cooperatively with others	3
Be able to communicate in English	4
Maintain and continue to develop skills in Japanese	5
Develop creativity	6
Become open to diversity, differences, and change	7
Acquire an understanding and appreciation of other people and cultures	8

Program Evaluation

Spending a significant portion of their day in English has not compromised the students' academic progress, Japanese language skills, or Japanese identity. The results of internal program evaluations have shown that students in the bilingual program achieve academically and develop their primary language on a par with comparable students who are not in the bilingual program. A study conducted at the end of Grade 4 (Bostwick, 2000) indicated that bilingual students did as well as previous nonbilingual Grade 4 students at Katoh Gakuen in academic achievement and Japanese literacy. A more comprehensive examination at the end of Grade 5 (Bostwick, 1999) yielded similar results, finding no difference in achievement between bilingual and nonbilingual students at any grade level in the program (Grades 1–5) in either math or Japanese language arts. In addition, by Grade 5 most bilingual students were passing English tests typically given to Japanese junior high graduates.

A more recent study (Katoh Gakuen, 1998) assessed the students' progress in math, science, social studies, Japanese, and English in Grades 7 and 8, the original pilot bilingual class. National standardized tests in the Japanese language in these five subjects were given to all students in both grades. Comparisons were made between the bilingual and nonbilingual students. Multivariate analysis of the scores revealed significant advantages favoring the bilingual students on two tests: Japanese language arts and English. No significant differences were found between the groups in any other subjects. Background data regarding IQ and socioeconomic status collected on the students would suggest that the groups were very similar, with neither group holding a particular advantage over the other.

English Proficiency

English test results have indicated a wide range of ability in the junior high bilingual classes. English assessments of the bilingual students included the Educational Testing Service's Secondary Level English Proficiency (SLEP) test (Form 1), a 150-item norm-referenced test used by secondary bilingual schools in the United States, and the Eiken Test, a popular English assessment in Japan. The results of nine returnees were dropped from the analysis of the English proficiency assessments described below.

The results of the SLEP test indicated that many of the bilingual students could be mainstreamed to content courses taught in English for native English speakers. The students have not reached nativelike levels in English proficiency, but with assistance they can speak and understand English in order to perform classroom functions in English. The SLEP test predicted that the students would score 450 or above on the Test of English as a Foreign Language (TOEFL). This prediction was generally supported when students took practice TOEFLs and scored, on average, in the 430–460 range.

The Eiken Test places an emphasis on reading and grammar but also has listening and speaking components. Approximately 80% of the Grade 7 students and nearly all of the Grade 8 students passed the pre-2 level of the test, which is designed for high school students, and approximately 40% passed Level 2 of this test, which is intended for students entering college in Japan.

Content Mastery and Japanese Language Proficiency

Class averages on midterm and end-of-term assessments in Grades 7 and 8 have generally indicated no difference between the bilingual and nonbilingual groups in math, science, and social studies. There is an extremely wide range of achievement among the bilingual students, but class averages tend to be very similar in these subject areas for both groups of students.

The results of the national standardized tests administered in Grades 7 and 8 indicate that the class averages for the bilingual and nonbilingual groups were above the national average in all subject areas. Assessments in the five core subject areas revealed that the bilingual students continue to demonstrate mastery of the Japanese curriculum at a level comparable to nonbilingual students at Katoh Gakuen. No significant differences were found in math, science, or social studies. The social studies test consisted of two parts: geography and history. The history classes were taught in Japanese, and the geography classes were taught in English. It is interesting to note that these students had received most of their math and science instruction in English since Grade 1.

The one exception to this pattern is Japanese language arts, in which the Grade 8 bilingual students demonstrated Japanese language skills superior to those of the nonbilingual students at the school. Before Grade 6, end-of-year evaluations revealed no difference between the Japanese language skills of the bilingual and nonbilingual classes. However, in Grade 6 the bilingual students' Japanese language test scores were significantly higher than those of the nonbilingual classes. The students' relatively strong achievement in Japanese language arts has also been documented in Grades 7 and 8. A similar, but less dramatic trend regarding Japanese language development has occurred in the classes that have followed this pilot class. Similarly, Downes (2000a) found that students in Grades 5, 6, and 7 at Katoh Gakuen outperformed comparable nonimmersion students on a measure of Japanese vocabulary knowledge.

Japanese Identity

Some parents and educators in Japan worry that young, impressionable children exposed to foreign cultures too early and too intensely may not fully develop Japanese habits, customs, and ways of thinking. Downes (2000b) assessed the bilingual students at Katoh Gakuen and comparable nonbilingual public school students with a scale used to measure Japanese cultural identity. The results indicated that the bilingual students had a more positive attitude toward English and a stronger attraction to Western culture than the comparison group did. However, the results also indicated that the bilingual students identified more strongly with Japan. Overall, the bilingual students demonstrated positive attitudes toward their home culture, and no negative effects were seen as a result of studying in a foreign language at an early age.

PRACTICAL IDEAS

Several lessons gleaned from Katoh Gakuen's experience in Japan may be applicable to programs in other contexts.

Adopt an Educational Philosophy That Supports Innovation and Immersion Pedagogy

Innovation

Fortunately for us, before the introduction of immersion the school already had a long history of educational innovation and a well-established open-plan form of education that emphasized a child-centered, experientially based approach to instruction. This was one of the key reasons such a radical program of immersion education could successfully take root at the school.

Immersion Pedagogy

The success of immersion in the early grades largely depends on the effective mapping of language and action. This mapping is done most effectively in classrooms where students are actively engaged in hands-on experiences. The relatively small class sizes at the school and the child-centered educational philosophy predisposed the staff to more favorable attitudes toward a language immersion program with a very similar educational approach.

Include Primary Language Instruction From the Early Grades

When the two languages and writing systems taught in a bilingual program are very different from each other, it is critical to include instruction in the primary language from the early grades. The corollary to this is to maximize the foreign language immersion experience for as long as possible. For this reason, Katoh Gakuen does not follow a 50-50 model but immerses the students in the foreign language for as much as two thirds of their instructional day in the first 3 years of the program. This maximization is one of the distinguishing characteristics of our program and one that we have found to be very important in its success.

Reimmerse Students If Necessary

Most immersion programs gradually decrease the amount of foreign language immersion as the students progress through the grades. Some partial immersion programs report that they also encounter difficulties attaining the content objectives in the upper grades as the concepts studied become more abstract and the students do not possess the level of proficiency in the foreign language they need to handle the cognitive and academic demands. Because our goal is to give students the option of attending a university abroad, the program reimmerses the students in the target language at the junior and senior high school levels. The effect is similar to having a late immersion program on top of an early partial immersion program. Early indications are that this model is successful.

Provide Supplemental Classes in the Primary Language

If students must perform well on state or national tests, they will need supplemental classes in the primary language. Making sure that students pass competency or standardized assessments in their primary language is a major concern for total immersion programs in the United States. The solution in some programs is to reduce the program to partial immersion so those students can study in the language of the mandated tests. Katoh Gakuen has maintained a high level of foreign language immersion and has added several supplemental classes (in the students' primary language) to the school week to help them prepare for these very competitive exams.

Create Policies and Incentives to Attract and Keep Teachers

Teachers are the key to a successful program. It is impossible to underestimate the importance of having effective, well-trained teachers. High teacher turnover has a number of negative consequences for a program. First, immersion teachers need time to develop the skills they require to function effectively, and teacher turnover prevents the accumulation of knowledge and skills. Teachers also need time to become familiar with the Japanese curriculum in order to teach it effectively. High teacher turnover means that there is constantly a disproportionately large number of novice immersion teachers in the program. Schools need to have some flexibility in how salaries are calculated and what benefits can be offered if they are to successfully attract and keep high-quality teaching staff.

Continue to Raise the Language Goals for the Students

Like all programs, Katoh Gakuen is a work in progress, and until we complete the articulation of the program through high school, we will continue to navigate through uncharted territory. As we grow in experience, we come to expect more language from our students and seek ways that enable them to use English as the primary means of expression in their classes at all levels. The importance of finding more opportunities for language output and greater attention to nativelike pronunciation has been well documented (Swain, 1996), and we are actively pursuing these areas. The development of clear, high-level foreign language objectives and ways of monitoring the students' foreign language development at each grade level will certainly help. More opportunities for teacher training will also improve the quality of immersion pedagogy in the classroom.

CONCLUSION

Even though there are many challenges in implementing a bilingual program in a Japanese setting, the experience of Katoh Gakuen has shown that it can be done. Based on the test results obtained by the students in the program, the distance between the two languages has had no negative effect on the L1 development of the students. Nor does being in the bilingual program appear to compromise academic achievement. The bonus of immersion is that students have also acquired a degree of English proficiency that they would not have attained unless they had spent significant amounts of time living abroad.

The adoption of a foreign language immersion program always involves adaptations to the local needs, resources, and goals of the school (C. Baker, 1996). The definition of success can vary from school to school. The experience of Katoh Gakuen in Japan has shown that patterns of academic achievement and foreign language development are similar to those found in North America. By our own definitions, we regard the program as a resounding success yet are also acutely aware that we have much work left to do.

CONTRIBUTOR

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CHAPTER 11

Hai, Genki Desu: Doing Fine in a Japanese Immersion Classroom

Ruth Kanagy

INTRODUCTION

Immersion is a form of bilingual education for language majority students. One of its primary goals is to immerse language majority children in a second language (L2) environment in such a way that they will acquire the target language naturally while studying content subjects in that language. The first immersion schools, established some 30 years ago in Canada, were designed to help English-speaking children become fluent in French (Lambert & Tucker, 1972). In the United States, the first elementary immersion programs began in the late 1970s, reaching almost 200 schools by 1995 (Met & Lorenz, 1997). The question of primary concern to parents, teachers, and researchers involved in immersion education is, how effective is immersion education for nurturing bilingual children? Thus far, research on immersion students' academic achievement has been positive, showing that students' knowledge of content areas, such as math, science, and social studies, is equivalent to or better than that of their monolingual peers (Genesee, 1987). Immersion students have high comprehension of and fluency in the target language, though with some grammatical inaccuracies (Johnson & Swain, 1997).

A basic assumption of immersion education is that immersion students can "pick up" grammatical structures by hearing and speaking the target language in meaningful classroom contexts. However, most immersion research has investigated closely related language pairs, that is, Indo-European languages (Genesee, 1987; Johnson & Swain, 1997). Until recently, little information has been available on whether students can effectively learn typologically distinct languages, such as English and Japanese, through immersion. Fortunately, since the 1990s programs in unrelated languages have been established, such as an English immersion school in Japan (Kodera, 1999; see also chapter 10 in this volume) and Japanese immersion programs in the United States (see Kanagy, 1997, 1999a; Rounds & Kanagy, 1998) and in Australia (Chapman & Hartley, 1999). These developments provide the opportunity to address issues surrounding the acquisition of typologically distinct languages and orthographies in bilingual immersion classrooms: To what extent can children acquire different word orders, vocabulary, tenses, case markers, polite speech, and other features of typologically unrelated languages implicitly through immersion, and to what extent do they require more explicit teaching?

In this chapter, I describe the geographic context, philosophy, grade levels, and curriculum of one Japanese immersion school. I then present naturalistic classroom data that illuminate the process of acquiring the language of daily routines, grammatical particles, reading and writing, and polite speech levels in the context of Japanese immersion. Finally, I present some practical ideas—gleaned from classroom teachers—for fostering fluency.

CONTEXT

The Pacific Northwest region of the United States is home to several innovative immersion programs. The first French immersion school was founded in 1979 in the state of Oregon, followed by a second program in 1983. Two Spanish immersion schools opened in the early 1980s, followed by a third school in the 1990s. In addition, the first two Japanese immersion schools were established in the late 1980s, and a third school begun in the 1990s (Center for Applied Linguistics, 1997). Most of these schools are partial immersion programs, with 50% or more of the instruction done in the target language and 50% in English. The majority of the schools began immersion with Grade 1, adding a grade each year until reaching a continuous K–12 immersion program. Most of the schools are operated by public school districts and supported enthusiastically by parents.

Yujin Gakuen, the focus of this chapter, opened in 1988 as the first Japanese immersion school in the United States. It provides a Japanese immersion experience from kindergarten through Grade 5, with a Japanese-centered program in middle and high school. Located in a medium-sized university town in Oregon, it enrolls approximately 260 students in elementary school, 55 students in middle school (Grades 6–8), and 20 students in high school (Grades 9–12). The students represent a broad range of academic abilities, needs, and family backgrounds. One might wonder why largely monolingual U.S. parents would send their children to a bilingual Japanese/English school. An informal survey of parents revealed that some are motivated by the benefit that knowing Japanese may have for their child's future career, whereas other parents enroll their children simply because Yujin Gakuen is the closest neighborhood school. Although a few families include a Japanese parent, the majority have very limited knowledge of Japanese language or culture before enrolling their child in the school. Thus, the school views introducing Japanese culture, along with language, as part of its mission to families and the wider community.

DESCRIPTION

The proportion of Japanese language to English language used in the classroom varies by grade level. Kindergarten is taught approximately 80% in Japanese and 20% in English, whereas Grades 1–5 are taught 50% in Japanese and 50% in English, a half day each. Middle school students have two periods of reading and geography in Japanese and English and one period of Japanese conversation and grammar skills each day. High school students have one period a day of Japanese language and culture. The remainder of the middle and high school curricula is taught in English. The elementary immersion program is in a self-contained building, whereas the middle and high school immersion programs are alternatives located in larger schools where immersion students take classes other than Japanese with regular students. Although attendance in immersion from kindergarten or first grade is advantageous for students' L2 skills, the school has an open-door policy, and new students can be admitted in any grade depending on their individual level of commitment. New students who join the immersion program after kindergarten are encouraged to watch their classmates and do their best to follow. Special before-school 40-minute classes have been created to support new students.

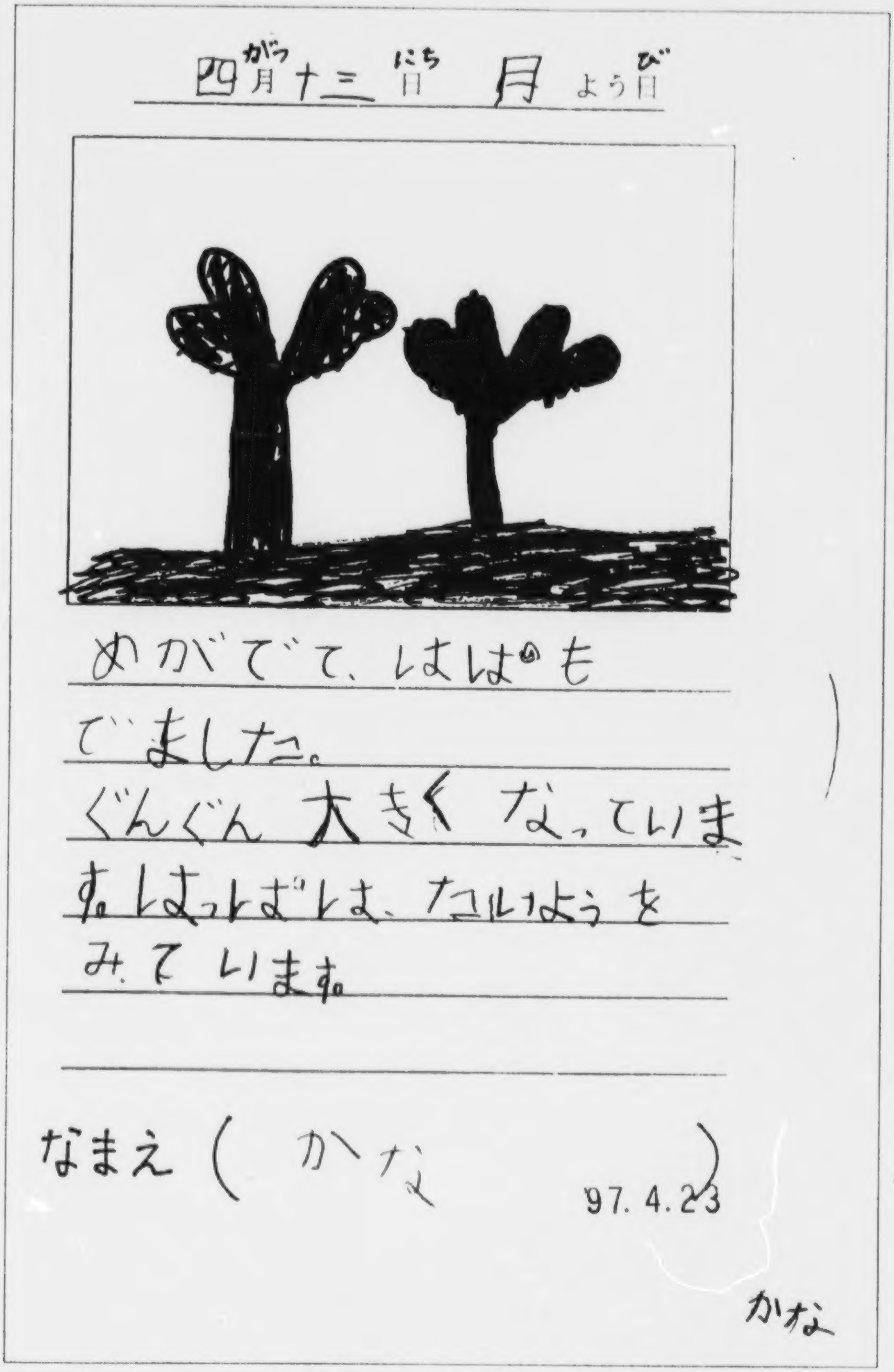
The school's pedagogical philosophy, like that of immersion education in general, is that children who are immersed in content subjects taught in a foreign language will acquire the language naturally. The immersion teachers are native or near-native speakers of Japanese licensed in elementary or secondary education. During the Japanese portion of the day, teachers speak only Japanese to the students, although they respond to students when they use English. Consistent with immersion philosophy, which holds that significant L2 learning can occur when the target language is used for academic instruction, the teachers focus primarily on meaning. Teachers use numerous and colorful visual aids, charts, and displays to aid comprehension during lessons in science, social studies, reading, and writing. The mechanics of learning to read and write Japanese script occupy a significant amount of class time. Students in the elementary grades are not explicitly taught the details of Japanese grammar.

Being the first Japanese immersion school in the United States, Yujin Gakuen developed its curriculum from the ground up. With the help of a federal grant, the teachers spent several summers creating a K–5 curriculum for Japanese reading, writing, math, science, social studies, and music, which is revised as needed. Following district guidelines, the curriculum is organized around themes such as *power, systems, forms, interactions, communities*, and *change*. These interdisciplinary themes are reflected in all subjects in the Japanese and the English curriculum. Some reading, science, and other materials are adapted from textbooks in the Japanese national curriculum. For example, during a science lesson, first graders plant seeds in containers and write *kansatsu nooto*, or daily observations, in their notebooks, as students do in Japan; one student's sketch of the morning glories she observed is shown in Figure 1. (For a detailed description of the Japanese curriculum, see Mori, Suematsu, & Kanagy, 1997.)

One might wonder how parents who do not speak Japanese can become involved in their children's Japanese immersion experience, including helping with homework. One parent described how the school and parents work together:

> Meetings with teachers are always in English. Homework in the lower grades is fairly simple in Japanese and can be deciphered with help from the teacher. Practicing five or so symbols for a weekly quiz is the bulk of the homework. In the upper grades, I am unable to help with school work because their vocabulary and grammar have blossomed. Students need to ask the teacher for help or find a tutor. (personal communication, May 5, 1999)

The implication is that students need to listen carefully when directions are given for Japanese homework. If homework becomes an issue, parents may call the school or arrange for conferences. Teachers send informative newsletters home and may also initiate conferences. In addition, on a joint curriculum night, English and Japanese teachers explain the routines, themes, units, and materials to parents (first-grade English teacher, personal communication, May 5, 1999).



四月（がつ）十三日（にち） 月よう日（び）

めがでて、はばも
でました。
ぐんぐん大きくなっていま
す。はっぱは、たいようを
みています。

なまえ（ かな ）

97. 4. 23

かな

FIGURE 1. Student K's Sketch of Morning Glories Observed in a Science Lesson

Note. The Japanese sentences, copied from the blackboard, say, "The shoots sprouted and then the leaves. They are getting bigger and bigger. The leaves are looking at the sun."

How do the immersion students' English language and academic development compare to that of students in regular programs? The elementary school principal reported,

> Yujin Gakuen's students are doing well in both languages. We have a "resource room" at our school for students who have average to above intelligence, but score at least 2 years below grade level for reading, math and writing. Help is given to these students early on so that they can be successful at the benchmarks.
>
> Our benchmark scores reflect the fine English program that we are offering. (personal communication, April 5, 1999)

Benchmark scores for Grade 3 and Grade 5 students' performance over a 3-year period in English reading and math at Yujin Gakuen are shown in Table 1, along with district and state averages. The scores indicate that, "even though our students spend half of their time learning in a different language, they are getting the information that they need . . . . We are excited that our students have done so well and have increased their scores over the past few years" (principal, personal communication, April 10, 1999).

DISTINGUISHING FEATURES

Linguistic Distance

The most distinctive feature of Yujin Gakuen is the linguistic distance between the students' home language and the immersion language. This situation raises an important pedagogical question: How do English-speaking children learn a language

TABLE 1. AVERAGE BENCHMARK SCORES IN ENGLISH READING AND MATH FOR GRADE 3 AND 5 STUDENTS AT YUJIN GAKUEN, DISTRICTWIDE, AND STATEWIDE, 1997–1999 (%)

	Grade 3		*Grade 5*	
Year and student group	***Reading***	***Math***	***Reading***	***Math***
1997				
Yujin Gakuen	85	51	91	48
District	89	71	80	73
State	77	62	65	59
1998				
Yujin Gakuen	86	75	88	88
District	88	77	78	74
State	78	67	66	61
1999				
Yujin Gakuen	91	86	89	83
District	89	82	81	80
State	81	70	68	66

such as Japanese, which shares few cognates with their first language? In this section, I discuss how daily classroom routines provide a framework for acquisition within which younger children can begin speaking Japanese, how children are instructed in Japanese orthography, and how they are exposed to grammatical particles and speech registers.

Use of Daily Routines to Facilitate Initial Competence

The kindergarten day begins at 8:30 a.m. Each morning, the teacher leads the students through opening exercises that consist of greetings (*aisatsu*), attendance (*shusseki*), calendar, and weather time. Each of the routines contains fixed language and slots to be filled with appropriate information. For example, in the morning greeting, the children greet their teacher by saying, "Ohayoo gozaimasu, M-sensei" (good morning, Ms. M). The name slot (underlined) changes according to the person being addressed. Along with the linguistic content, the children must learn the appropriate order and timing of their lines. Excerpt 1 illustrates how the kindergarten class carried out the attendance routine during the second month of school. The students were seated at four tables listening to each name as it was called.[1]

1. Taking Attendance in Kindergarten (October 4)

*TEA: hai, o#genki desu ka. [OK, are you well?]
*JIM: hai, genki desu. [yes, I'm fine.]
*TEA: Joy, o#genki desu ka. [Joy, are you well?]
*JOY: <0>
*TEA: hai, genki desu. [yes, I'm fine.]
*TEA: o#genki? [are you well?]
*JOY: <0>

In Excerpt 1, Jim had already mastered the appropriate response ("hai, genki desu" [yes, I'm fine]) whereas Joy either could not or did not wish to respond (her silence is indicated by <0>). By contrast, the same children demonstrated individual and group mastery of the attendance routine at the end of the school year, as shown in Excerpt 2:

2. Taking Attendance in Kindergarten (May 31)

*TEA: hai, shusseki o torimasu. [OK, we will take attendance.]
*TEA: eeto Amy-san. [uh, Amy.]
*CLA: o#yasumi desu. [(she) is absent.]
*TEA: Jon-kun. [Jon.]
*JON: hai, genki desu. [yes, I'm fine.]

Research on second language acquisition (SLA) has shown that formulaic expressions are stored as "chunks" in the early stage of language acquisition (see Kanagy, 1997, 1999a, 1999b; Kanagy & Igarashi, 1997). Such formulaic language is available to children for later analysis and expansion beyond their initial verbal competence (see Myles, Hooper, & Mitchell, 1998, on children learning French). The immersion teachers use short, predictable routines as a framework within which the children can acquire the target forms, whether or not they understand the language initially. After participating in the group exercise, immersion kindergartners start using knowledge from routines in new contexts, independently of teacher direction (see Kanagy, 1999a, for an example).

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[1] Names in the excerpts are pseudonyms. The data are transcribed according to the JCHAT system (see Oshima-Takane & MacWhinney, 1995).

Use of the Interview Routine to Practice Grammatical Particles

Daily routines facilitate initial competence in the classroom; however, some of the finer grammatical points of the target language take longer to acquire. For example, in Japanese sentences the grammatical functions of nouns are marked by postposed particles indicating topic (*wa*), subject (*ga*), object (*o*), possessive (*no*), location (*de* or *ni*), and so on. These case-marking particles are complex and take years even for native-Japanese-speaking children to master (Rounds & Kanagy, 1998).

An interview routine in kindergarten called *jiko-shookai* (personal introduction), which requires the children to pay attention to particles, is very difficult to master initially (Kanagy, 1999a). The exchange in Excerpt 3, which took place in November, illustrates how children begin using knowledge about colors and body parts. While interviewing Tom, the class asks the color of his eyes, to which he must respond using a fixed script. The teacher provides prompts to support him. (Topic particle *wa* and possessive particle *no* are underlined in the excerpt; xx was muffled or unclear and not possible to transcribe.)

3. Personal Introduction in Kindergarten (November 22)

*CLA: anata no me wa nani iro desu ka. [what color are your eyes?]
*TOM: boku wa [I + topic particle]
*TEA: no [possessive particle]
*TOM: no [possessive particle]
*TEA: boku no. [my + possessive particle]
*TOM: boku no me wa xx. [my eyes are xx.]
*TEA: ookina koe de itte. [say it louder.]
*TOM: chairo desu. [are brown.]

Grammatical particles cause some difficulty in this exchange. Tom is unsure whether he should begin with *boku wa* (masculine *I* + topic particle, meaning *I*) or *boku no* (*I* + possessive particle, meaning *my*) in the phrase *boku no me wa* (my eyes are . . .). His use of *wa* is corrected by the teacher, who prompts him to say *boku no*. Once he hears the prompt, Tom is able to complete the statement successfully: "boku no me wa chairo desu" (my eyes are brown). At this stage of language development, the kindergartners are processing Japanese at the word level. Thus, they may regard *boku wa* and *boku no* as two different words, not yet being aware that the third syllable is in fact a grammatical particle (nor would they be able to understand the concept even if it were explained).

To determine how children in the Japanese immersion program process case-marking particles, word order, and animacy, Rounds and Kanagy (1998) conducted a listening comprehension study of Grade K–7 immersion students. While listening to taped sentences in Japanese, students identified one picture out of three that best illustrated "who is doing the action." The sentences were simple ones containing two nouns and a verb in two different word orders, both of which are possible in

Japanese: (a) subject-object-verb (SOV), as in *onnanoko ga otokonoko o osu*, where *ga* marks the subject and *o* marks the object (literally, *girl boy pushes*, meaning *the girl pushes the boy*, and (b) object-subject-verb (OSV), as in *otokonoko o onnanoko ga osu* (literally, *boy girl pushes*, meaning *the girl pushes the boy*). Both sentences have the same meaning, though the first ordering is more common. Our results showed that the immersion students were successful in choosing the agent in SOV sentences, in which *ga* marks the first noun as agent (perhaps because the subject is usually in initial position in English). However, they had difficulty understanding that the *ga*-marked second noun in OSV sentences is in fact the agent (the first noun is marked by object *o*). In OSV sentences, students with longer exposure to Japanese were less likely than younger students to choose the second noun as agent successfully. A possible explanation is that because in English the subject is usually in initial position (SVO) and word order is rigid, older students increasing rely on word order to comprehend Japanese sentences, paying less attention to particles (Rounds & Kanagy, 1997, 1998). These results raise the possibility that immersion students may benefit from some focused instruction on case-marking particles, such as the instruction Japanese children receive as part of literacy training (cf. Rounds & Kanagy, 1997).

Techniques for Teaching Reading and Writing in Japanese

Japanese orthography has 2,000 *kanji* (characters derived from Chinese), 48 *hiragana* (rounded phonetic syllabary) and 48 *katakana* (squared phonetic syllabary that function similarly to italics and are used for loan words from Western languages). To help immersion students from an alphabetic background acquire a nonalphabetic orthographic system that combines three scripts, teachers typically follow the standard Japanese way of teaching orthography: modeling characters one at a time, stroke by stroke, on the board for students to copy and practice repeatedly in their notebooks. Immersion kindergartners are introduced to 48 *hiragana* symbols over the course of the year, practicing recognition and writing of each letter of their names on worksheets, reinforced by the daily *hiragana* song. First graders continue reading and writing *hiragana*, progressing from individual letters to words and then sentences. They also learn a few *kanji*, which are combined with *hiragana* to form sentences. In second grade *katakana* script is added for writing English names and other Western loan words.

Excerpt 4 shows how *kanji*, *hiragana*, and *katakana* are combined in one sentence:

4. Sentence Combining *kanji*, *hiragana*, and *katakana*

Japanese orthography:	私の名前はセーラです。
Transcription:	WATASHI no NAMAE wa seera desu.
Literal meaning:	I-possessive Name-topic Sarah is
English translation:	My name is Sarah.

In the first line, the first, third, and fourth symbols are *kanji* (meaning *I* and *name*, transcribed in uppercase in Line 2); the second, fifth, and final two symbols are *hiragana* (possessive *no*, topic *wa*, and copula *desu*, all underlined in Line 2). The three symbols before *desu* are *Sarah* transcribed into *katakana* and pronounced "seera." In this way, *kanji* represent nouns, verbs, and concepts; *hiragana* indicate functions and native Japanese words; and *katakana* are used for non-Chinese loan words and for emphasis (similar to italics in English). The immersion teachers' stated literacy goal is to introduce 440 *kanji* designated for the first three grades of the Japanese national curriculum to immersion students during Grades K–5. For students in Japan, learning nearly 2,000 *kanji* is a slow, painstaking process demanding a great deal of time (9 years of schooling), repeated exposure, and effort, even while immersed in Japanese orthography in signs, billboards, and the media.

In addition to learning the mechanics, children must learn to read and write Japanese both horizontally and vertically depending on the content. Generally, scientific subjects are written horizontally, and literary works vertically. In addition, because there are no spaces between letters to indicate word boundaries in Japanese text (see Excerpt 4 above, in which the symbols are equidistant), other than in early first-grade readers, reading involves making judgments about where one word ends and another begins. The reading process is somewhat easier once *kanji* characters are learned, because *kanji* represent content words whereas inflections are represented in *kana*.

Exposure to Speech Registers

Immersion students at Yujin Gakuen are exposed daily to several speech registers in their teacher's discourse. One of the tasks facing Japanese immersion students is to understand that the plain and polite speech levels in Japanese are based on social relationships. In many languages, levels of politeness in speech are marked overtly in pronouns and verb inflections, such as in the *tu/vous* distinction in French and the *tu/Usted* distinction in Spanish. In Japanese, predicate inflections mark several distinct politeness levels. The two most basic verb forms are *-masu* (polite or formal) and plain (informal). For example, *ikimasu* means *goes* (polite) whereas *iku* means *goes* (plain). Cook (1996, 1999) identifies verbs in *-masu* as a representation of the public self and verbs in plain style as an expression of the private self. It is important for learners of Japanese, including immersion students, to master speech registers because each has a highly specific function in Japanese social interaction, including interaction in the classroom.

To understand how Japanese immersion teachers use speech registers, Falsgraf and Majors (1995) and Rounds, Falsgraf, and Seya (1997) recorded and analyzed politeness levels in immersion teachers' speech. They found that teachers addressed the whole class primarily in *-masu* but switched to plain in asides to individual students. The students, however, were taught only *-masu* forms explicitly and received no instruction in plain forms. This raises the question of whether mere exposure to teacher's classroom speech is sufficient for acquiring the rules of Japanese politeness levels.

To find out how children use these forms, Burdelski (1998) analyzed naturalistic classroom data from the second-grade Japanese immersion classroom at Yujin Gakuen and found at least one student using both *-masu* and plain forms in her speech. This student used the two styles appropriately, indexing the plain form to situations of heightened affect (e.g., explaining the reason for an error she made), which paralleled some of the functions of plain form in her teacher's discourse. Though not yet a fluent speaker of Japanese, this English-speaking child demonstrated linguistic and pragmatic competence in Japanese speech styles, showing that it may be possible to acquire some social aspects of language in immersion contexts implicitly.

PRACTICAL IDEAS

During visits to immersion classrooms at Yujin Gakuen, I observed numerous activities designed by teachers to promote the acquisition of oral and written Japanese. Among these are using the Internet to communicate beyond the confines of the classroom, learning in small groups, and using pair activities for oral communication.

Use the Internet to Communicate Beyond the Classroom

The school and parents all place a strong emphasis on technology, and the school offers weekly computer classes for all students. Starting in kindergarten, students are taught how to type in *romaji* (English transcription), which converts automatically to Japanese script on the screen. Students must then select the appropriate script, *hiragana, katakana,* or *kanji*. The technology teacher, though not a speaker of Japanese, is expert at teaching these skills to the children. Students frequently illustrate their Japanese written work with computer graphics, which are displayed in the halls. Fifth graders exchange e-mail with Japanese fifth graders in Tokyo, whom they have an opportunity to meet during their class trip to Japan. Immersion students also design and maintain the school's home page in Japanese and English, introducing their daily activities and special events to the world.

Use Small-Group and Pair Activities for Oral Communication

To motivate students and help them work cooperatively, many of the teachers organize the class into small learning groups, or *han*. In the third grade, desks are clustered in groups of four or five and decorated with flowers. The teacher uses a point system and symbols on the board (e.g., *maruchan-maaku*, a smiley face) to reward or discipline students based on how they work as a group. Although not exclusively a Japanese concept, holding the group responsible for behavior and encouraging peer support is strongly valued. The exchange in Excerpt 5 shows how one teacher used competition to motivate learning after one *han* had finished performing a skit in front of the class. (The verb stem *age-* and negative inflections are underlined for emphasis.)

5. Awarding Points to a *Han* in Third Grade (November 11)

*TEA: nan-ten agereba ii desu ka? [how many points should we give?]
*JON: yonten! [4 points!]
*TEA: yonten age- age- [4 points giv- give-]
*TEA agete kudasai. [please give]
*TIM: agemasen! [don't give!]
(later)
*MIM: maruchan-ma: ku o yonpan ni agete kudasai. [give a smiley face to Group 4 please.]

In this spontaneous exchange, two immersion students gave their opinions on how deserving of points a rival *han* was. Tim responded to his teacher's attempt to focus on the continuative form of the verb *ageru* (give), sidestepping her implicit grammar lesson and asserting his view, "agemasen" (don't give). Tim and Mim both displayed their mastery of the verb *ageru* and several case markers while emphatically conveying their message in authentic Japanese.

The same teacher designed an interactive talking game to promote spontaneous oral communication in Japanese. It is sometimes used when students are becoming restless after sitting at their desks for a period. The object is to for the students to interview each other on the given topic and see how many partners they can hold a conversation with in the designated time. First, the teacher distributed six squares of blue paper around the room on the carpeted floor. Then she gave the children a question to ask each other. At the signal, students raced to one of the blue papers and planted one foot on it, keeping it there while they talked to a partner, who went to the same spot. On the day I observed, students asked, "Sankusu gibingu ni nani o shimashita ka?" (what did you do during Thanksgiving?). They wrote down what their partners said and reported their responses to the class. The teacher rewarded them with points tallied on the white board.

Research on the essential ingredients for oral communication tasks that appear to promote SLA indicates that they must contain a clear activity and goal and meet the following conditions:

1. Each person has a different part of the information, which must be exchanged in order to reach the task outcome.
2. Each partner must request information from and supply information to the other.
3. The partners have the same or convergent goals.
4. Only one acceptable outcome is possible. (Pica, Kanagy, & Falodun, 1993, p. 17)

The immersion teacher's paired oral activity meets these criteria, providing an opportunity for students to engage in spontaneous communication in the target language with a peer. At the other end of the continuum from rote learning and routines in younger grades, the activity seems to motivate immersion students to expand their language competence.

CONCLUSION

Yujin Gakuen's more than 12 years of successful bilingual education in noncognate languages suggests that immersion is indeed a viable context for children to become bilingual speakers of English and Japanese and that both linguistic competence (knowledge of the language) and pragmatic competence (knowledge of language use) are crucial components. Some grammatical aspects of the target language, such as the complex Japanese case-marking system, may require some form of explicit instruction. Achieving sufficient literacy skills may also require extra time.

In terms of SLA, it is still undetermined which aspects of the target language require more than exposure and when and how explicit or implicit instruction is most effective. Immersion schools are feeling some pressure in meeting state benchmarks for achievement in Grades 4, 8, and 12. Should immersion students in noncognate languages be held to the same academic standards in both their L1 and their L2? Most parents and teachers would say yes. A recent School Report Card sent by the state superintendent of public instruction indicated that the overall school performance for Yujin Gakuen Elementary School was strong, an affirmation that students at this pioneer Japanese immersion school are indeed *genki*, and doing very well.

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CONTRIBUTOR

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CHAPTER 12

An International Bilingual School in Indiana, USA

Alain Weber

INTRODUCTION

This case study is about an international bilingual school in Indianapolis, Indiana, in the United States. The school provides parents and students with a choice of immersion in French and English or Spanish and English, and it offers them a diverse, multicultural curriculum, drawn from those in the United States, Spain, and Mexico. The program seeks to make Indianapolis an attractive site for international development and to prepare students from Indianapolis for the diversity that they will face in an increasingly international world.

CONTEXT

Indianapolis, Indiana—in the heartland of America, *l'Amerique profonde*—is not a city that comes to mind when one thinks about new trends and bold initiatives in international education. The Midwest is often perceived as conservative and traditional but rarely as cosmopolitan. Perceptions are deceiving, however: Indianapolis is a thriving urban community of 1.5 million inhabitants with a vibrant downtown center and impressive cultural facilities. Known as "the amateur sports capital," it has hosted 450 world sporting events in the past 25 years and has 5 world championship sporting events scheduled in the early 2000s. It is the 12th most populated city in the United States, with the 16th-largest African American population, strong German and Irish roots, and quickly growing Hispanic and Asian communities.

Indianapolis is the capital city of Indiana, an economically dynamic and internationally focused state. In 1990, Indiana exported $6.4 billion in products and services. In 1994, this had grown to $9.3 billion, a 45% increase. In 1998, Indiana exported a record $13.4 billion. The state exports transportation, computer and electronic equipment, and chemicals. Foreign investment comes mainly from the United Kingdom, Germany, Canada, and France. As well, 200 Japanese companies employ more than 35,000 Hoosiers (as residents of Indiana are colloquially called).

It is against this background that in 1990 the International Issue Task Force was created with a generous donation from Lilly Endowment, a local philanthropic foundation that is one of the largest in the United States. The task force gathered a group of volunteer business people, politicians, and educators to identify ways to make Indianapolis and the state more attractive internationally. One of the committee's recommendations was accepted unanimously: create a school in the capital city that would provide a rigorous academic curriculum coupled with multilingual opportunities. Task force members viewed the establishment of such a school as vital for families who might move to Indianapolis from other countries and regarded their children's education as foremost when considering such a move. The school would also meet the needs of local parents who were interested in a demanding curriculum that would expose students to world languages and cultures. Interestingly, at the beginning of the 20th century parts of Indiana were bilingual, with some schools offering an American/German curriculum to meet the needs of German-speaking citizens. It was only after World War I that bilingual education disappeared. Laws were introduced that forbade the use of German in the state, even on the telephone. The opening of the International School of Indiana (ISI) showed how far Indiana had progressed since those earlier times.

Many parents showed an interest in the project proposed by the task force, and their interest played a critical role in moving the proposal forward. Parents had heard about the possible creation of an international school through the media—supportive articles were appearing in local newspapers, and a news crew from the local television station visited and reported on the creation of the Atlanta International School in the state of Georgia. These news reports gave a great deal of credibility to the Indianapolis project and challenged Indianapolis and its citizens to create its own international school. After I was appointed head of the new school, I held information sessions throughout the city in church and temple halls, law offices, corporation headquarters, and sometimes informally on street corners and in airport terminals to publicize the initiative and gather support for it. The most difficult and at the same time the most interesting task was describing the immersion approach to education to parents who had had no prior experience with such innovative second language (L2) programs. Although they expressed a lot of interest, they also had many legitimate questions and expected answers to their questions. For instance, they asked how mathematics and reading would be taught in an L2 and how they could help their children with homework in French or Spanish, the languages chosen by the School Advisory Board as the media of instruction (along with English).

We felt that words were not sufficient to help parents fully understand immersion education and to persuade them of its merits. So one day in February 1990, we rented a van and took a group of parents on a day trip to Chicago to visit the small and successful French American school there. The school was housed in a beautiful abandoned church, and during our visit we observed an art class conducted on a podium where the altar used to be. The students' artwork was remarkable, and the students were obviously thriving in this bilingual atmosphere. This visit helped parents realize that immersion was not a reckless experiment and that their children could learn far more than an L2 in an immersion program of the type we were proposing to create.

To bring potential parents up to date on recent research on immersion, we brought educational experts who were familiar with immersion to Indianapolis to meet with parents. Alex Horsley, the head of the Atlanta International School at that time, also traveled to Indianapolis to share his experience with the community. He described the school's extraordinary growth and its economic impact on Atlanta. It is hard to say now what proved the most convincing for the Indiana parents, but there is no doubt that every bit of information aided in gaining their support. Reflecting on the pioneering parents' decision to enroll their children, I can only describe it as nothing less than an extraordinary leap of faith. The concept of immersion was truly foreign to them, so they had no prior experiences on which to draw in making their decision to participate.

Parents who showed an interest in the new school differed in many respects, but they shared a vision for the school. They wanted their children to receive an education in which academic excellence was primary and bilingualism was the cornerstone. The parents also shared the view that the adoption of traditional European curricula would make the Indianapolis program rigorous and challenging. They felt that the school should bring together children of diverse national, ethnic, socioeconomic, and racial backgrounds in an environment where they would learn about and appreciate each other's differences. ISI opened its doors for the first time on September 1, 1994. Marking the event was a ribbon-cutting ceremony with balloons and an abundance of emotion. Thirty-eight students and their families gathered in front of the building. The students were divided into five grade levels from prekindergarten (4-year-olds) to Grade 3 (9-year-olds). The staff consisted of six teachers, one part-time fund-raiser, one administrative assistant, and a head of school. All were ready to work, innovate, and succeed. Parents were offered a choice of an English/Spanish or an English/French immersion program.

Why immersion, and why French and Spanish? The members of the task force viewed international education in terms of international communication and an understanding of other cultures. Thus, they regarded fluency in more than one language as a must. Immersion was the logical means to obtain these goals because of its documented success in other communities (Genesee, 1987; Johnson & Swain, 1997). French and Spanish were chosen after a rather unscientific survey of public and independent schools in the area. They were the two foreign languages offered because of their appeal to parents in the community.

In 1998, we moved to a centrally located building not far from our original site. The new building was formerly a public school with a great deal of charm. Butler University bought the school and is leasing it to ISI for a 5- to 10-year period. With a surface area of 45,000 square feet on three floors, a gymnasium, and a large play area, it is ideal. A recently donated large (63-acre), beautiful, and extremely well-located piece of land located not far from the current elementary school will be the site of the new high school program. Plans are in place for fund-raising that will provide the resources for this next phase of development.

DESCRIPTION

The program currently includes preelementary school (3- to 5-year-olds), elementary school (Grades 1–5; 6- to 11-year-olds), and middle school (Grades 6–8; 12- to 14-year-olds) programs. In academic year 1999–2000, there were 330 students in all three programs combined. Twenty-two percent of the students were members of a visible minority (e.g., Asian, African American, or East Indian). Eighty percent were U.S. citizens, and the rest were foreign nationals or had dual citizenship. Among the foreign nationals, France, the United Kingdom, Canada, and Mexico were mainly represented. Eighty-five percent of the families spoke English at home. The school offered scholarships to 25% of its students, and the French government gave scholarships to 5 additional students who were French citizens residing in Indianapolis.

Admission

Students with no knowledge of the target languages (English, French, or Spanish) can enter ISI at any grade level. For students entering the preelementary program and up to Grade 1, the integration is usually smooth and gradual and requires little special attention. In contrast, it is not easy for students to enter ISI after Grade 2 if they have not had any prior exposure to the target languages. We have strict admission standards for students starting ISI after Grade 2, and we discuss the program in detail with parents and students entering late so that they are fully aware of the commitment that is required for success. Two factors are important for a successful education at ISI: the motivation of the students and the commitment of the parents. These are doubly important in the case of students who enter late.

We have also created a number of programs that are designed to assist late-entry students make a successful transition to ISI. To start, students who enter the program in Grade 2 or beyond attend a 2-week summer camp in French, Spanish, or English in August, before the beginning of the regular school year. There they learn enough basic skills in the target language to help them get started when regular classes begin. Once school starts in September, these students attend *welcoming classes*, small-group pullout classes that provide special language instruction for short periods throughout the week. Their purpose is to assist late-entry students in acquiring the language skills needed to integrate into regular classes. Usually by January, the majority of students start moving out of these special classes.

Curriculum

Immersion in the L2s is concentrated in the early grades. More specifically, the target languages (French and Spanish) are used 100% in the preelementary grades, 80% in Grades 1–3, and 50% in Grades 4–7. The French and Spanish classes are kept separate during the preelementary grades until Grade 3. However, so that the students are not isolated in their specific programs, we encourage the teachers to schedule joint field trips for the students during these grades; sometimes physical education classes are also jointly taught to students in both programs. In Grade 3 and beyond, the students from both language programs are combined for most of their English classes.

The preelementary school offers full-day academic programs for 3- to 5-year-olds, with a half-day option for 3-year-olds. The academic programs are coordinated with a child-care program available within the same building before and after school hours. Emphasizing oral training, letter and sound recognition, and the rudiments of reading, writing, and mathematics, the preelementary curriculum builds a foundation of skills and concepts for the more structured learning experiences of the elementary grades. The emphasis on structured activity increases as children move through the grade levels. All activities are conducted in the target language. Children learn the foreign language and culture in the same way that they learn their native language and culture, through experience.

Because the students are taught exclusively in Spanish or French during the preelementary grades, they acquire a solid background in the foreign language before receiving formal academic instruction beginning in Grade 1. As a result, the transition to Grade 1, in which subject matter is taught entirely through a foreign language, is relatively simple and smooth. For instance, reading is taught simultaneously in either Spanish or French and in English. The teachers use Spanish and French reading methods that combine whole language and phonics approaches. The U.S. method complements the Spanish and French methods well, and we are satisfied with the effectiveness of our approaches.

Past research on immersion (Genesee, 1987) has shown that immersion students who have strong reading skills in one language learn to read well in the other one; this has proved to be true with our students. We have not had students do well in one language while experiencing difficulty in the other. In some immersion schools, initial reading instruction begins in the L2, and instruction in English reading follows only after a year of schooling or later. We opted for simultaneous reading instruction in both languages because many students enter Grade 1 knowing how to read in English; we did not want to interrupt this process by delaying reading instruction in English. We have continued using this approach, as it has not presented problems for our students.

In Grades 1, 2, and 3, the students spend the majority of their class time in a French or Spanish homeroom. Forty-five minutes a day are in the American (English language) classroom. Students in Grades 4 and 5 spend half the day in English and half the day in French or Spanish (see Tables 1 and 2 for a summary of the subjects taught in each language in Grades 1–5). Courses identified as combination in Tables 1 and 2 are taught in the native language of the instructor, which can be any of the three languages. Typically these classes are led by more than one instructor (e.g., physical education classes), or the target language teacher as well as an English language instructor is present (e.g., computer science classes). In many subjects, specific learning objectives are repeated in successive grade levels to form a spiral curriculum. At each successive grade level, students are taught in more depth and are expected to demonstrate greater understanding and proficiency.

During the upper elementary grades (4 and 5), when instruction is 50% in English and 50% in the L2, the morning classes are taught in French or Spanish by

TABLE 1. LANGUAGE OF INSTRUCTION IN GRADES 1–3

	Language of Instruction			
Subject	***French***	***Spanish***	***English***	***Combination***
Language arts	x	x	x	
History/geography	x	x	x	
Mathematics	x	x		
Science	x	x		
Music			x	
Health			x	
Computer science				x
Physical education				x

TABLE 2. LANGUAGE OF INSTRUCTION IN GRADES 4–5

Subject	*Language of Instruction*			
	French	*Spanish*	*English*	*Combination*
Language arts	x	x	x	
History/geography	x	x	x	
Mathematics	x	x		
Science			x	
Music			x	
Health			x	
Computer science				x
Physical education				x

one teacher, and the afternoon classes are taught in English by an English-speaking U.S. teacher, or vice versa. In the middle school years (Grades 6, 7, and 8), students receive instruction through the target language for two to three periods a day by teachers who are both native speakers and subject matter specialists. This intensive schedule of L2 instruction does not raise any controversy or concern. Despite their lack of familiarity with immersion, parents do not generally question the amount of L2 exposure and, in particular, they do not ask for less Spanish or French. The timetables for Grades 6–8 are summarized by language in Appendixes A and B.

From early on, ISI established a traditional program of liberal arts and sciences. The curriculum in each program is reviewed every year, and changes are made in light of the teachers' experiences with it during the preceding school year. As part of the core program, we have added physical education, team sports, community service, and instruction in the arts, including music, dance, plastic arts, and theater. We put a strong emphasis on computers and information technology at ISI, primarily during the English portion of the curriculum.

The curricula for teaching through the L2s are based in large part on the official national curricula of France, Spain, and Mexico; this is done in order to reflect our staff's cultural backgrounds. As for the American (English language) curriculum, the school's pioneer teachers researched the best programs available in public and independent schools in our area and created their own curriculum. The American curriculum is introduced in Grade 1 at the rate of one period a day (45–50 minutes). Students also take physical education (three to four periods a week) and music (two periods a week) in English. The rest of instruction is provided in Spanish or in French.

Mathematics is taught in French or Spanish from Grades 1 to 5 using excellent methods from France and Spain. Students learn to count with pesetas and francs, and they master the metric system easily. They transfer the knowledge they acquire in their L2 to English and their immediate surroundings without difficulty. World history is taught in Spanish or French, and the American instructor teaches U.S. history in English. Science is taught in English, using excellent U.S. programs. In deciding which subjects to teach in which language, we looked long and hard at the available textbooks and manuals. For science and mathematics, the deciding factor was not the language per se but the excellence of the pedagogical material. In the middle school grades, mathematics is taught in English, and science in Spanish and French.

In history, the students continue in the same vein as at the elementary level—that is, world history is taught in Spanish or French, and the American instructor teaches U.S. history in English. In an immersion program with an international curriculum and staff, choosing what to teach in history can be difficult and complex. Emotion and nationalism can sometimes take over and lead to passionate discussions. Whose history will be taught, and from what perspective? Clear and ongoing communication among instructional personnel is imperative to work through these complexities. Such complexities are normal and even desirable in a school such as ISI, which by design includes individuals of many cultures in order to achieve its goal of multicultural understanding.

To extend the immersion experience and to give the students the opportunity to use their L2 in authentic native-speaking environments, we organize exchange programs in Grades 5 and 8. The students in the American/Spanish option have gone to San Luis Potosi, Mexico, while their classmates in the American/French section have gone to Montreal, Canada. The children stay with the families of pen pals with whom they have been corresponding, and they attend school with their pen pals. Later, ISI and its families welcome the Mexican and Canadian children in a visit to Indiana.

DISTINGUISHING FEATURES

Internationalism

One of the most distinctive features of the school is its internationalism. As pointed out earlier, the French and Spanish curricula are based on the national curricula in France and Spain while the English-language curriculum is U.S. based. In 1999, ISI became the first independent school in North America to be accredited by the Spanish Ministry of Education. The French Ministry of Education had recognized the elementary program 2 years earlier. In addition, the school has become an associate member of the European Council of International Schools. The teachers also reflect the international focus of the school—they come from France, Mexico, and Spain. The program is greatly enriched by the cultural diversity they bring to their teaching. The focus on internationalism has inspired the staff to start a Celebration of Cultural Diversity program. Every month, a cultural group within the teaching staff takes charge of organizing special national events that reflect their backgrounds. An opening day in September is modeled after a Russian tradition. In September, the school also celebrates Mexican Independence Day, and in January, we welcome *la Fête des Rois* (celebrated in France to commemorate the visit of the Wise Men after the birth of Christ) with the traditional cake.

Community Support and Involvement

Another distinctive feature of ISI is the level of community support and involvement that has gone into the creation and ongoing development of the school. This support has been evident from the start and continues to this day in numerous ways. For example, once the recommendations of the International Issue Task Force had been adopted in 1992, members of the task force along with well-known leaders from Indianapolis's educational, business, and political communities formed a volunteer School Advisory Board. The board brought exceptional strength to this endeavor because every member wholeheartedly supported the mission of the school. It is noteworthy that the governor of Indiana and the mayor of Indianapolis agreed to sit on the School Advisory Board, giving the endeavor critical political support at the municipal and state levels. This level of community support has been a key element in ISI's success.

Local and international businesses located in Indianapolis have also made substantial contributions to ISI from the beginning: Hitachi Metals generously donated funds, and National City Bank provided office space in its downtown head office with all the amenities necessary to launch the new school. Eli Lilly and Company, a large pharmaceutical corporation whose world headquarters is located in Indianapolis, lent a top international executive to get things moving. The Indiana Humanities Council, which had organized and coordinated the efforts of the task force, helped by offering support staff. Other corporations, such as Thomson Multimedia, Dow AgroSciences, and Roche Diagnostics (formerly Boehringer Mannheim), also offered financial and moral support.

A vital stage in the creation of ISI was finding a site, which was a difficult and frustrating task. The members of the building committee of the board, the head of school, and several interested parents scoured Indianapolis, visiting churches and temples, office buildings, warehouses, former hospitals, and even an industrial photo lab. The search lasted more than a year. Once a suitable building had been identified and a lease had been signed, renovation of the site became the next challenge. The school had been badly maintained and was somber, smelly, and in urgent need of repairs. However, it had a great deal of potential. Many volunteer parents set about rejuvenating it with great enthusiasm. Weekend after weekend, parents and board members took time to paint, build, clean, and reconstruct. Some used personal vacation time. The result was astonishing: The building became a wonderful, warm, and welcoming school. Parent volunteers attended local school auctions and bought used but sturdy furniture in order to save funds for other purposes. The school building project galvanized the volunteers and created a genuine spirit of community. It also gave the parents the commitment and determination to make sure the school succeeded.

Teachers' Backgrounds

ISI is also distinctive in the international, multicultural backgrounds of its teachers. All were trained elementary school generalists who were passionate about their jobs. The teachers from outside the United States all spoke English relatively well. Many were on leave from the French or Spanish ministries of education. Except for one who had taught in a French/American school near San Francisco, they had had no experience in a bilingual setting, and most had had no experience teaching an L2. I did not consider this lack of experience important because I believe that in immersion one does not teach the language; rather, one teaches *in* the language. Thus, immersion teachers need to be native speakers of the target language with extensive training in elementary or secondary education.

The first cohort of teachers arrived in late August 1994, and they received a warm welcome from Indianapolis families who offered their hospitality until the out-of-town staff secured their own lodging. It was apparent from the beginning that the teachers were a big hit with both students and parents. It was magical to see the children suddenly able to do math in French or sing a Spanish song while learning how to read in two languages. The prekindergarten teachers decided to take their charges on an overnight French/Spanish camping trip. Reluctantly at first, I agreed to the trip with the proviso that all the parents had to send their children on this adventure. To my surprise, all did. The students had a great time. One student told his father that this trip was far better than the family visit to Disney World in Florida. During the first year of operation, these teachers made all the difference.

PRACTICAL IDEAS

Cultivate Community Support

If the idea and the impetus for the creation of an international (bilingual) school comes from within the community, the chances for success are great. Thus, strong support from the community is critical. Public relations and timely publicity are vital areas on which a school must spend time, energy, and money in order to establish and maintain community support.

Schools must find sponsors who will support their efforts. Even in regions of the world where philanthropy toward education is unknown, schools can develop links with multinational corporations, universities, and city or state governments. A clearly written mission statement outlining the benefits of an international school in the community is essential for gaining public support and for effective fund-raising. The mission of the school should be articulated in concrete, specific terms, and the founding sponsors and supporters must give their unanimous support to the mission of the school. In a related vein, a head of school must be hired quickly, as the board and the head need to set priorities for program structure, curriculum, fund-raising, building and space requirements, budget, and long-term development. Such early signs of real progress are important in gaining sponsors because people are more likely to contribute to a sure thing than to a project that is mere speculation.

Seek Accreditation

Trust and respect are critical for the success of innovation. Accreditation of a new school by appropriate local and international organizations is one important way of gaining the trust and respect of parents and other stakeholders. We moved quickly during the first years of ISI's existence to obtain external accreditation. First came accreditation from the Independent Schools Association of Central States in November 1994, when ISI was a brand-new school. Next, after a 2-day visit by an inspector from the French Ministry of Education, who resided in Washington, DC, we received a strong endorsement for accreditation by France.

Commitment and trust came also in the form of financial support. Early in the first school year, Eli Lilly and Company awarded ISI a half-million-dollar challenge grant. The money was vital and much appreciated, but so was the impact this donation had on the community's recognition and acceptance of the school.

Set High Standards

It is important to set high standards when defining the school's goals, curriculum, and materials. When developing curriculum and programs at the elementary, middle, or high school level, schools should always start by deciding on its goals—what it wants the graduates of the new program to be able to do. If the graduates are to be bilingual or have a strong background in science and mathematics, those goals will influence the whole school program.

Engage and Retain High-Quality Staff

High standards are critical for hiring teachers; schools should go far and wide to engage the best staff. All concerned at ISI—parents, the head of school, and the School Advisory Board—felt that highly qualified, committed, and energetic teachers who were prepared to create a new school were essential to the success of the initiative. An additional consideration when hiring teachers for a bilingual (immersion) school is to find native speakers of the target languages who are elementary generalists or subject specialists. When recruiting teachers for a new, innovative school, schools should be honest with them about the long hours of work and their involvement in all matters: child care, lunch programs, curriculum development, public relations, and so on.

Words are not enough to encourage and keep staff. In setting budgets, salaries must be as high as finances permit in order to keep qualified, committed teachers. In the beginning, ISI committed resources that came from fund-raising to create an attractive, competitive salary scale and excellent medical and hospitalization benefits that would attract the kinds of professionals we needed to realize our goals.

Communicate With Parents and the Community

High standards are also important when it comes to communication with parents and the community at large. The difficulties of starting up a new school are no excuse for producing sloppy public relations information.

Set Rigorous Admissions Standards

Despite the obvious need to enroll as many students as possible in the beginning, schools should aim for success by setting rigorous admissions standards for the program and sticking to them. Schools should hire qualified school psychologists to assist with screening and admissions decisions if preselection is part of admissions.

At the same time, schools need to encourage student diversity by offering scholarships to support less advantaged students. The best criterion to use is family need. However, no matter what the family situation, parents must always be asked to pay a monthly minimum.

CONCLUSION

At this writing, ISI is 6 years old. The real results of the program will only be known when the first class graduates from high school. Certainly, a lot has been accomplished in a short period of time, but we need to be vigilant as the school is still fragile and faces many challenges in the future. First, we must continue to communicate our mission clearly to current and prospective families. We need to make clear that we are not an American school, or a French, Spanish, or Mexican school; our curriculum is diverse and unique. We will continue to maintain the integrity of our three curricula—American, French, and Spanish—while teaching the same skills and material that U.S. students in regular educational programs receive. No matter which immersion strand a student follows, the expectations must be uniform. The quality of the curriculum is directly linked to the dedication and competence of the staff. Once effective teachers have been recruited, it is essential for the future health of the school that they be retained. They are the soul of the school because the success of the school depends critically on the continuity of the teaching staff. To this end, we have made and continue to make every effort to keep our staff engaged and professionally interested in our school. Recruiting for the high school program will be daunting but exciting. In the end, hard work, luck, and good people are the winning ingredients.

In closing, I return to the question that was on the minds of ISI's founding supporters: Why create an international bilingual school in the Midwest? The reason is that the globalization of the world has created an obvious need for students who are proficient in multiple languages and competent in multiple cultures. I am convinced that other communities will soon start similar international educational initiatives of their own. Already, the neighboring cities of Cincinnati, Ohio, and St. Louis, Missouri, are beginning to think about creating one. We are receiving calls from interested parents from surrounding cities. In the past 10 years, language immersion programs geared toward international education have flourished in North America. Ten years from now, without doubt, there will be increased diversity in our midst, an increased need to do business with others around the world, and an ever-increasing need for graduates who can function comfortably and effectively in other languages and cultures.

CONTRIBUTOR

Alain Weber is the founding head of the International School of Indiana, Indianapolis, in the United States. Before undertaking the launching of the International School, he spent 6 years as head of the French American International School in San Francisco, California, and a total of 16 years at the Selwyn House School in Montreal, Canada, the last 7 as elementary school director.

APPENDIX A: LANGUAGE TIMETABLE FOR THE FRENCH IMMERSION PROGRAM IN THE MIDDLE SCHOOL GRADES

Each cell in the following tables represents a 45-minute class period. For example, in Grade 6, students receive science instruction in French for four periods each week.

Grade 6

Subject	Days of the Week 1	2	3	4	5
Language arts—French	F	F	F	F	F
Science	F	F	F	F	
History/geography	F	F	F	F[a]	
Spanish as L2	S	S	S	S	S
Language arts—English	E	E	E	E	E
Mathematics	E	E	E	E	E
Computer science	E				
Health[b]	E				
Physical education	C	C	C	C	
Multiage arts option	C	C			
Visual arts/music	C	C			
Community service	C				

Note. F = French, E = English, S = Spanish, C = combination of languages.

[a] Geography of the Americas. [b] Taught every 2 weeks in place of one physical education class.

Grade 7

Subject	Days of the Week 1	2	3	4	5
Language arts—French	F	F	F	F	F
History/geography	F	F	F	F	
Spanish as L2	S	S	S	S	S
Language arts—English	E	E	E	E	E
Mathematics	E	E	E	E	E
Science	E	E	E	E	
Computer science	E				
Health[a]	E				
Physical education	C	C	C	C	
Multiage arts option	C	C			
Dance/drama	C	C			
Community service	C				

Note. F = French, E = English, S = Spanish, C = combination of languages.

[a] Taught every 2 weeks in place of one physical education class.

Grade 8 (Available 2000–2001)

	Days of the Week				
Subject	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*
Language arts—French	F	F	F	F	F
Science	F	F	F	F	
History/geography	F	F	E[a]	E[a]	
Spanish as L2	S	S	S	S	S
Language arts—English	E	E	E	E	E
Mathematics	E	E	E	E	E
Computer science	E				
Health[b]	E				
Physical education	C	C	C	C	
Multiage arts option	C	C			
Integrated arts	C	C			
Community service	C				

Note. F = French, E = English, S = Spanish, C = combination of languages.
[a] U.S. history. [b] Taught every 2 weeks in place of one physical education class.

APPENDIX B: LANGUAGE TIMETABLE FOR THE SPANISH IMMERSION PROGRAM IN THE MIDDLE SCHOOL GRADES

Each cell in the tables on pp. 164–165 represents a 45-minute class period. For example, in Grade 6 students receive science instruction in Spanish for four periods each week.

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Grade 6

Subject	Days of the Week 1	2	3	4	5
Language arts—Spanish	S	S	S	S	S
Science	S	S	S	S	
History/geography	S	S	S	E[a]	
French as L2	F	F	F	F	F
Language arts—English	E	E	E	E	E
Mathematics	E	E	E	E	E
Computer science	E				
Health[b]	E				
Physical education	C	C	C	C	
Multiage arts option	C	C			
Visual arts/music	C	C			
Community service	C				

Note. S = Spanish, E = English, F = French, C = combination of languages.
[a] Geography of the Americas. [b] Taught every 2 weeks in place of one physical education class.

Grade 7

Subject	Days of the Week 1	2	3	4	5
Language arts—Spanish	S	S	S	S	S
History/geography	S	S	S	S	
French as L2	F	F	F	F	F
Language arts—English	E	E	E	E	E
Mathematics	E	E	E	E	E
Science	E	E	E	E	
Computer science	E				
Health[a]	E				
Physical education	C	C	C	C	
Multiage arts option	C	C			
Dance/drama	C	C			
Community service	C				

Note. S = Spanish, E = English, F = French, C = combination of languages.
[a] Taught every 2 weeks in place of one physical education class.

Grade 8

	Days of the Week				
Subject	*1*	*2*	*3*	*4*	*5*
Language arts—Spanish	S	S	S	S	S
Science	S	S	S	S	
History/geography	S	S	E[a]	E[a]	
French as L2	F	F	F	F	F
Language arts—English	E	E	E	E	E
Mathematics	E	E	E	E	E
Computer science	E				
Health[b]	E				
Physical education	C	C	C	C	
Multiage arts option	C	C			
Integrated arts	C	C			
Community service	C				

Note. S = Spanish; E = English; F = French; C = combination of languages.
[a] U.S. history. [b] Taught every 2 weeks in place of one physical education class.

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